

*The Unfortunate
Court-Favourites*



Peir: Gaveston The 2:spencers Ro: Mortimer



H: staff D: Bucks Card: Woolsey Tho: L: Cromwel



R: Dever E: Essex G: Vill: D: Bucks E: of strafford

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The Unfortunate Court-Favourites O F ENGLAND,

Exemplified

In some Remarks upon the Lives, Actions,
and Fatal Fall of divers Great Men, who
have been Favourites to several English
Kings and Queens ; namely,

- I. *Pierce Gaveston Earl of Cornwall.*
- II. *Hugh Spencer, Earl of Winchester.*
- III. *Hugh Spencer the Son, Earl of Gloucester.*
- IV. *Roger Mortimer, Earl of March.*
- V. *Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.*
- VI. *Thomas Woolsey, Cardinal of York.*
- VII. *Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.*
- VIII. *Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.*
- IX. *George Villars, Duke of Buckingham.*
- X. *Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.*

With the Picture of every Monarch and
Favourite.

By R. B.

The Second Edition.

LONDON, Printed for Nath. Crouch, at the Bell
over-against Grocers-Alley in the Poultry, near
Cheapside, 1706.



The Kings and Queens of England to
whom the following Unfortunate Great
Men were Favourites.

- I. **P**erce Gaveston Earl of Cornwall,
Favourite to King Edward II.
- II, and III. Hugh Spencer the Father, and
Hugh Spencer the Son, both Favourites
to King Edward II.
- IV. Roger Mortimer Earl of March, Fa-
vourite to Queen Isabel, Widow to
King Edward II. and Mother to King
Edward III.
- V. Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham,
Favourite to King Richard III.
- VI. Thomas Woolsey Cardinal of York,
Favourite to King Henry VIII.
- VII. Thomas Cromwell Earl of Essex,
Favourite to King Henry VIII.
- VIII. Robert Devereux Earl of Essex,
Favourite to Queen Elizabeth.
- IX. George Villiers Duke of Bucking-
ham, Favourite to King James I. and
King Charles I.
- X. Thomas Wentworth Earl of Strafford,
Favourite to King Charles I.

TO THE R E A D E R.

NOthing is more obvious than that Ambition, Envy and Emulation are the usual Attendants on the Courts of Princes, and that the Effects of them have been often very fatal to many Great Men, who had the fortune to have a larger share in their Masters Affections than others. It is likewise as notorious, That there are certain Crises of Government, wherein Princes have been obliged to Sacrifice their darling Ministers either to their own Safety, or the importunity of their People. Lastly, it is as evident, That some Court-Favourites have justly merited the unhappy Fate they met with, for their many Rapes, Insolencies and Enormities, as that others have been ruined meerly from the Caprichio or inconstant Temper of the Prince whom they served. Of all these, in my opinion, the ensuing Favourites are pregnant Instances. But I shall leave the Reader to particularise them according to his own Judgment, and will only add, That they are not all to be condemned as Criminal, meerly because they all happened to be unfortunate.

R. B.
Remarks



*Remarks on the Life, Actions and Fatal Fall of
Pierce Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, Fau-
rite to King Edward II.*

THAT Unhappy Prince, Edward II. was certainly the most Unfortunate in his Favourites of any King of England, either before or since his Reigne: The first and fatal Favourite he had was before he came to the Crown, whose Name was Pierce Gaveston, born in Gascoigne, a Province of France, and for the good Service performed by his Father in the Wars in that Kingdom, his Son was taken into such Favour at Court, that by K. Edward I. own appointment he was educated, with and made a Companion to

Remarks on the Life of

the Young Prince, being a Person of a sharp Wit, an excellent Shape, and a valiant Temper, of which he gave notable Proof in a Battle against the Scots, and for which they bore him a mortal Hatred: but all these worthy Qualities were defac'd by his vicious Inclinations; so that as to his Christian and Moral Virtues, Authors are very silent in mentioning them, though all give large Accounts of his Immoralities.

King Edward was so sensible, that the Prince had been debauched by the corrupt Conversation of Gaveston, that some time before his Death he was banished the Kingdom; and upon his Death-bed commanding the Prince his Son to repair to him with all speed to Carlisle in Cumberland, where he was with a great Army ready to invade Scotland, he gave him much good Advice, particularly that he should be merciful, just, faithful in word and deed, an Encourager of the good, and ready to relieve the distressed, that he should be loving to his two Brothers, Thomas and Edmund, but especially to honour and respect his Mother Queen Margaret, and that upon pain of his Curse he should not presume without common coasent to recall Peiroe Gaveston from Exile, who, by Decree of the Nobility, was banished: He also added a strange Injunction for a dying Man, namely, That after his Death the Prince should not presume to take the Crown till he had honourably revenged the Injuries his Father had received from the Scots, and finisht the present Expedition against them, and should carry his Father's Bones about with him in a Coffin, till he had marched through Scotland, and subdued all his Enemies, assuring him, that while they were with him he should be always victorious. Lastly, Whereas by the continual Attempts of Bruce King of Scotland, he was prevented from performing his Vow of going in Person for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels, that

he

he should send his Heart thither, accompanied with 140 Knights and their Retinue, for whose support he had provided Thirty two thousand Pound; that after his Heart was conveyed thither, he hoped in God all things would prosper with them; adjuring the Prince, upon pain of Eternal Damnation, that he should not expend the Money upon any other use. After these Admonitions, and having taken an Oath of this vain Young Prince, to perform his Will, he gave up the Ghost.

After his Father's Death, the Son had little regard to his dying Requests, and to shew what his future Behaviour was like to be, he first revenged himself upon Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester, Lord Treasurer and Principal Executor of his Father's Last Will, whom he imprisoned in Wallingford Castle, seizing upon all his Estate, no Man daring to intercede on his behalf, because of the King's extream Hatred against him, the Bishop's Crime being only in using a modest Freedom in K. Edward's days, in gravely reproving him for his Misdemeanours, and not suffering him to have what Money he required to waste prodigally upon Gaveston, against whom he likewise made such great and just Complaints, as occasioned the Imprisonment of the Prince, and the Banishment of his leud Favourite.

Soon after the young King married Isabel, Daughter to Philip the Fair of France, the Match being concluded before his Father's death, and was now performed with extraordinary Magnificence at Bulle: At which Solemnity there were five Kings, namely, Philip the French King, the K. of Almain, the K. of Sicily, the K. of Navar, and K. Edward the Bridegroom, and 4 Queens, Mary Q. of France, Margaret the Q. Mother of England, her Daughter the Q. of Navar, and Isabel the Bride, Q. of England, with a great number of Persons of Honour and Quality, and among them the beloved Gaveston,

fton, who was entertained with the tenderest Affection by K. Edward; but the Nobility so detested him, that they resolved to have hinder'd the Coronation of the K. and Q. which soon after follow'd, had not King Edward solemnly promised to give them reasonable Satisfaction in the Matter, yet was he so far from it, that none appeared greater in Attendants, Bravery, and all other Grandeur, than Gaveston; and as a particular Mark of Esteem the King ordered him to carry St. Edward's Crown before him at that Solemnity: This still increased the Abhorrence of the Lords against him, who having the Power and Favour of the King on his side, slighted all their Attempts, and resolved to provoke them to the utmost by affronting, miscalling, and scoffing at the chief Peers of the Land, naming Thomas Earl of Lancaster, the Stage-Player, Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke, Joseph the Jew, because he was tall and pale; and Guy Earl of Warwick, the black Dog of Ardern, all whom at a Tournament he abused in a contemptible manner.

King Edward took little notice of these Affronts, but rather encourage his Insolence by heaping more Favours upon him; and Gaveston, to establish himself, was still contriving those Diversions which he knew to be pleasing to his vain Mind; so that the Court was filled with Fidlers, Players, Jesters, Flatterers, and all such pernicious People, as by Sensualities and riotous Practices might withdraw him from attempting any Noble Enterprizes in performance of his Father's Will, or for the good Government of his People, and led him into all kind of Debauchery while Gaveston himself revelled in all Felicity, and wasted the Treasure of the Kingdom in Riot and Folly, or else converted it to his private use, and transported great Sums beyond Sea, that he might have somewhat to trust to, if he should be forced to a second Banishment. And indeed he had so intirely ingrossed the Kings Favour,

our, that he had frequent opportunities of In-
riching himself, all Addresses for obtaining Offices,
Honours, Pardons, or any other Advantages pass-
ing through his hands, who espoused their business
not according to Justice, but by the value of the
Prefents made him; and it is scarce credible with
what Prodigality the King squandered away his
Money upon him; bestowing on him the best
Jewels, and Rarities that he had, nay, the Imperial
Crown of his Victorious Father, and a fine Table;
and Stands all of pure Gold, with many other rich
Ornaments, which Gavestone privately conveyed
away, to the great damage of the Kingdom; Nay,
he called him Brother, and publickly declared, that
if it were in his power he would make him his Suc-
cessor to the Crown.

The Lords who had hitherto past by the private
Affronts they received, in hope the King might in
time see his Errors, which they by their daily
Admonitions endeavoured to make him sensible of,
finding he still persisted in the same Courses, which
grew now intolerable, resolved plainly to remon-
strate the matter to him, telling him, That to their
great grief they perceived his Dotage and ill-
placed Affection was unlimited toward Gavestone,
a Person of an infamous Life, whose Father was
a Traytor to the French King, and was hanged
for the same: That his Mother was burnt for a
Witch, and that he himself was banisht for being her
Confederate in her cursed Witchcrafts, and that
they did verily believe he had be witcht the King,
or else he could never retain such an unreasonable
Passion for so profligate a Wretch: That they
much doubted he would abuse his Greatness so far
as to bring Foreigners into the Land to defend him
in his lawless and destructive Courses, to the utter
Ruine of the Laws, Liberties and Estates of his
Subjects; They therefore humbly desire him to
hearken to the Advice of his Peers, which would

To His Remarks on the Life of

be for his own Honour, and the Welfare of his People, and particularly, 1. That he would confirm and maintain those Ancient Laws and Customs which were contained in the Charters of the King his Predecessors. 2. That he would not force any man to part with his Goods without paying the value thereof. 3. That whatever Money, Lands, Jewels, or other valuable things had been alienated from the Crown since his Father's death might be restored. 4. That he would remember the Oath he had taken to his Father before his death not to recall Peirce Gaveston from Banishment: And for prosecuting the War against Scotland, and that he would rectifie all that had been amiss, that so his Enemies might have no cause to rejoice, nor his Friends be disquieted: Lastly, That no man should be restrained by the King's Writ from prosecuting his Suits in any Court of Justice, for defending his Right and Property, but that Justice might be impartially administered throughout the Kingdom, both to Rich and Poor, according to the ancient Constitutions, and Laws of England.

The King taking Counsel of Peirce Gaveston and his Complices, commanded the Lord Chancellor to tell the Lords that he would give them satisfaction to their demands at the next Session of Parliament. The Barons were no sooner gone home but the King ordered the Gates of London to be shut, the Streets to be chaised, and strict Watch to be kept, and then with some Forces, both English and Foreigners, marched in company of Gaveston to Wallingford Castle; and as his Conscience did not trouble him for the breach of his Oath, so their dislike increased his love to Gaveston, nothing being grateful but what came from his hand. However having quite emptied his Exchequer, he was compelled to comply with the Parliament at their next Meeting in London, and to pass an Act for Gaveston's perpetual Banishment, and for securing

the Liberty of the Subject, and the due execution of Justice, which the King confirmed by a solemn Oath, and for which they gratified him with a subsidy of the twentieth part of their Estates. In pursuance of this Decree Gaveston is sent by the King into Ireland, himself accompanying him as far as Bristol, giving him a Commission to be Chief Governor of that Kingdom, bestowing on him thirty two Towns in the Province of Gascoign in France, and furnishing him with Men and Money sufficient to secure himself against his Enemies, creating him Baron of Wallingford, and Earl of Cornwall, and giving him the whole Revenue of that Country as well as of Ireland, to be disposed of at his pleasure, with such store of Plate and Jewels that he might well think his Banishment was but a splendid Ambassage, and an occasion offered to the King by fortune to make him more Rich and Honourable. He was no sooner arrived there but the King sent Letters to him, requiring him to be cheerful and merry in his exile, assuring him that his troubles should be recompenced with greater dignities than he had yet received; and indeed the King was so fond that he could not live without him, and the exigency of his affairs being over, he made it appear that what he had done against him was contrary to his humour, and that his heart went not along with his Tongue and Hand. He therefore sends for him back, who arriving in Wales and coming to Flint Castle was met by the King and received with extraordinary satisfaction and to fix him more strongly in his affections he Married him to Joan of Acres Countess of Gloucester his Sisters Daughter, resolving to retain his Gaveston in despight of all his Lords and People, and to adventure his Crown and Life in protecting him from their displeasure; wherein both the King and He shewed much indiscretion, it being equally dangerous for a Prince to express such extravagant Joye

10 *Remarks on the Life of*

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love to his Favourite as for him to accept of the same, and at length it proved fatal to them both. For Gaveston who was naturally ambitious being above his hopes or expectations advanced to an alliance with the Blood Royal, he now practices more notorious Villanies than he had done before, wasting the King's Treasure with such monstrous profusion, that he had not wherewith to defray the ordinary expences of his Court, continually supplying the King's luxurious fancy with fresh and chargeable delights both in banqueting, costly Wines, and Lascivious dalliance, whereby he so vitiated his Soul, that he abandoned the Lawful Society of his Queen, and gave himself up to the Imbraces of impudent Harlots.

The Queen was extreamly grieved att these unsufferable Wrongs, but neither her sighs nor tears could soften his Heart hardened with the variety and continuance of sinning, and the malevolent example of the cursed Gaveston. Neither were the People silent, but took liberty to talk of these misdemeanours of the King, The Queen being abused both in her Honour and Maintenance, having not a sufficiency allowed her by Gaveston to support her Royal Dignity, complains to her Father the French King; and the Abbot of St. Dennis being sent as the Pope's Legate, to demand the Legacy that the King's Father left for the recovery of the Holy Land, used earnest importunities with him to banish that lewd Companion Gaveston from this Court and Kingdom, with whose Conversation all Mankind were infected, but all was in vain. After this the King Summoned a Parliament to meet at Northampton, designing to go thence to Scotland. The Barons came thither well armed and guarded, of which the King having intelligence sent them word he would not come, yet at last he came as far as Stony-Stratford, to whom the Lords sent the Earls of Warwick and Clare, with their

earnest

earnest intreaties that for his owa safety and the benefit of the Kingdom he would appear at his Parliament. Whereupon he was prevailed with to come in the Habit of an Esquire, and the Lords were present unarmed, and in conclusion an happy agreement was made, and the Expedition to Scotland laid aside for the present.

Soon after a Parliament assembled at London, to which came Lewis Brother to the French King, and the Bishop of Poictou, to endeavour to settle a lasting Concord between the King and the Peers. At this Parliament many good Laws were Enacted one for banishing Peirce Gaveston once again, which the King was obliged to pass, tho' sore against his will, with this condition added by the Lords, That if he were ever found again in any of the King's Dominions he should be taken as a Common Enemy, and executed by Martial Law without further Tryal.

Hereupon Gaveston went into France, but that King being his sworn Enemy, upon the account of the Queen his Daughter, he wandered from one Country to another, seeking for Rest, but could find none. Wherefore having still confidence in the love and favour of the King, he with many Foreigners adventured once more to England having scarce been absent three months, and coming to the King, who then kept his Christmass at York, he was entertained with the former endearedness, and so much joy, that an Angel from Heaven could not have been more welcom to him, who iestantly made him Principal Secretary of State.

The Queen, Nobility and People were all disturbed at Gaveston's return, and the Lords perceiving the irreclaimable Temper of the King, they concluded there could be no peace in the Kingdom while Gaveston was alive, and resolved to venture their Lives and Estates for the destruction of this infamous Foreigner, who seemed to design the

utter

utter ruin of the Nation. Pursuant to which they constitute Thomas Earl of Lancaster to be their Leader, and put theraselves in Arms, but being sensible of the miseries of intestine Wars, they were willing first to try all peaceable Expedients, and several great Men were sent with an humble Petition to the King at York, requesting him to deliver into their hands, or drive out of his Company and Kingdom the wicked Gaveston, assuring him they were all of opinion that he would never have any Money in his Exchequer, nor any love for his Queen, whilst that profligate Stranger was in so much Grace, and threatening that if he did not gratifie them in their requests, they would renounce their Allegiance, and prosecute him as a peijured Prince. But the obstinate King resolving to lose all rather than part with his dear Gaveston, sent for Foreign Soldiers, and having hired 300 Horsemen commanded by the Earl of Hannow and the Viscount Foix, in their passage through France for England they were seized by that King, who kill'd most of the Soldiers and hanged up the Officers, He then solicited Aid from Robert Bruce King of Scotland, from Robert Fitz Thomas a great Man in Ireland, and likewise from the Welsh, but they all denied to give him any assistance against his Barons. Whereat being enraged he fortified Windsor Castle, and built Forts in several parts of the Kingdom. The Lords likewise raised Forces and resolved to march toward York, from whence the King was gone to Sea for his recreation, leaving Gaveston behind him, who lodged in the Castle, and caused both that and the City to be strengthened with new Fortifications. The Barons rendezsouised at Bedford, where they made Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, Lord Keeper of England, and oraced for Guards to be set upon the Sea-Counts to prevent any Foreign Forces from landing. From hence they proceeded

ceeded to York, at whose approach Gaveston fled to Scarborough; the Lords pursued him thither, and besieging the Town they quickly took it, and made him a Prisoner, committing him to the Custody of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who carried him to a Village called Dathington, between Oxford and Warwick, designing to have conveyed him next day to Wallingford Castle, and going that night to lodge with his Countess, who was hard by, the next morning, Guy Earl of Warwick with a strong Party, took him away, and brought him to Warwick Castle. And in a Council of War, it was unanimously resolved by the Earls of Lancaster, Warwick and Hereford, that he should be instantly put to death, as a subverter of the Government, and a notorious Traytor to the Kingdom. And being carried to a place called Blacklow, and afterwaad Gaveshead, he was beheaded in the presence of the Lords in 1312. His Body was by the Friers Predicant conveyed to Oxford, and there kept above two years, till the King caused it to be removed to Langley in Hertfordshire, where he in person, to demonstrate his affection to him dead as well as living, attended with the Archbishop of Canterbury, four Bishops, many Abbots and principal Clergy Men, caused him to be interred in the Friers Church which he had built, with all manner of Funeral Solemity, few of the Temporal Lords being present, whose great Hearts could not comply to honour him being dead, whom they mortally hated when alive. This was the fatal end of this ungracious Favourite, who if he had used moderation and diseretion might have long enjoyed the grandeur to which he had arrived, but the publick Wrongs he was guilty of, with the private and persoala Abuses offered to the principal Nobility, made him abhorred, no Injuries being harder to be forgiven or forgotten than Scoffs and Jeers at Mens personal defects which have occasioned the destruction of many in all Ages.

made this unfortunate man dye unmented, being reckoned to fall a just Sacrifice both to publick and private vengeance.

Remarks on the Lives, Actions and Fatal Fall of Hugh Spencer the Father, Earl of Winchester, and Hugh Spencer the Son, Earl of Gloucester, Both Favourites to King Edward II.

INaumerable are the mischiefs a Kingdom is subject to, which is governed by a perverse and wilful Prince, which commonly occasions great calamities both to himself and his People, and of which we have scarce a more pregnant instance than in the Reign of this unhappy King Edward the Second, who though he had suffered so many troubles for his inordinate and unreasonable favours to Peirce Gavestone; and by whose removal the Nobility seemed so well contented, that he might now have settled himself and the Realm in Peace, yet his violent nature was such, that he made it his Study how to destroy those Lords who had deprived him of his beloved Minion, whose death so afflicted him that he seemed as if he had lost half of himself, and whose Blood he designed to revenge upon them to the utmost, as the only means to revive his languishing Spirit, and remove the sorrow that had lain upon his mind ever since his fatal Fall. The Barons were sensible of his displeasure against them, and resolved not to lay down their Arms till they had sufficiently provided for their further security, and settled the Government upon its antient and legal foundation.

This unnatural division was much heightned by the ill Offices of the Queens Kindeed and Countrymen the French, who coming over in great numbers to attend the solemnity of the Baptizing of the Prince afterward the Victorous King Edward III. who was about this time born at Windsor, they so aggravated these proceedings of the Lords that he who was too much inflamed before, seemed now irreconcileable

irreconcileable to them. So that nothing but the miseries of an intestine War were expected. To prevent which, the young Queen, the Bishops and some other Noblemen, procured an interview between them, where the K. sharply charged the Barons for their rebellious taking up Arms against him, and for wickedly murdering his dear and faithful Friend Peirce Gaveston: The Lords resolutely answered, That they were not guilty of Rebellion, nor had done any thing but what deserved his Royal thanks and favour, since they had not raised any Forces against his Sacred Person, but only in their own defence, and to bring to Justice that impious Traytor Peirce Gaveston the publick Enemy and Fire-brand of the Realm. But though both were fierce in words, yet the Queen and Bishops used means to prevent their coming to action, and by their incessant endeavours wrought so effectually, that the King seemed willing to be pacified if they would acknowledge their Fault. And the Lords for preventing the dangers which threatened them from Robert Bruce King of Scotland, were contented to make their humble submissions to the King in open Court at Westminister, and desire him to forgive all their offences, which the King granted, offering his Pardon to all that would Petition him for the same. Upon which happy agreement the Parliament then sitting being sensible of the King's want of Money, freely granted him a fifteenth of their Estates, but Guy Earl of Warwick did not long survive this happy union, being secretly Poisoned, as the Lords reported, by some of the King's Friends.

The Office of Lord Chamberlain being vacant by the death of Peirce Gaveston, the Nobility recommended Hugh Spencer the younger to succeed in his place, because he had been formerly of their Party, and they did not doubt but he would be a faithful Counsellor. But as the Proverb says,

Honours

Honours change Manners, for though the King before hated him, yet he soon insinuated himself so far into his weak Mind, that he became an intimate Favourite, and succeeded in all the Graces, Familiarity and Power of his Predecessor, as well as in the Hatred and Envy of the Nobility and People, occasioned by his Insolence, Ambition and Lewdness, wherein he seemed to equal if not exceed the Wicked Gaveston, and thereby rendered himself acceptable to the vitiated Soul of King Edward. Hugh Spencer his Father an antient Knight was yet living, and counted a Person of great vertue, a wise Counsellor, and a Man of Valour, but seeming forward in promoting his Son's Interest and Grandeur, he was introduced into Court, and in great favour with the King, being made partaker of the guilt and calamity of his Son, rather out of Natural and Paternal Love and Teuderness, than from the depravity of his Mind.

But young Spencer, was not of a more lovely shape and Personage, then he was of a profligate temper: The Spirit of Pride, Rapine, and the most intolerable vices seeming to have wholly possess him, so that in comparison of him the People were ready almost to wish for Gaveston again. By his leud advice the K. pursued his former course of Debauchery, spending his Time and Treasure among Harlots and renouncing the Conversatiou of his Consort, which made him a scorn to Foreign Princes, and hateful to all Civil Men. He was the cause of the ruin of divers Widows and Fatherless and of many Noblemen and Gentlemen, and at length of the utter overthrow of Himself, his Father, and the King also.

This evil management of Affairs caused new dis cords between the King and his Nobility, whereby many mischiefs happened and their Enemies had opportunity to put in practice their designs against them. Among others, the Scots having joyfully Crowned

Crowned the Valiant Robert Bruce for their King, resolved to use their utmost efforts for recovering their Country and Liberties, which had been Ravished from them by the valiant King Edward I. who had made an entire Conquest of their Kingdom, and appointed John Cummin Earl Buquan a Scot, to be Governour thereof for the English. His King Robert was quicke in Battel, and was now grown so powerful, while King Edward was buried in unmanly luxury, that he sent his Brother to Besiege the Castle of Sterling, which bold attempt began to awaken the King out of his destructive Slumber: So that rasing a potent Army, he with all diligence marched toward the relief thereof. Hector Boetius the Scots Historian gives a surprizing account of the number of Soldiers that King Edward carried with him to this Siege, which he reckons to be one hundred and fifty thousand Horse and as many Foot and because this may seem incredible, he adds that besides the English, he had the assistance of the Hollanders, Zealanders, Flemings, Picards, Boulonois, Gascoigns, Normans, and many more from other Provinces and Countries: Besides which he relates a vast multitude of Women, Children, Servants, yea whole Families, with their House-hold-stuff follow'd the Camp; wherein this Author may be thought to design to magnify the Valour of his Countrymen who with far more inconsiderable Forces defeated them.

His Darling Spencer accompanied the King in this Expedition, but the Earls of Lancaster, Warren, Warwick and Arundel, the greatest Peers of that Age, refused to attend him, since He and his Evil Ministers continued their Invasions and Depredations upon the Liberties and Estates of the People, notwithstanding the provisions they had so often made, and he had so often consented to for securing them And as this diminished his strength, so it deprived him

him of their Counsel and Conduct, which was so necessary in Military Affairs: However, his number of Men was sufficient, if Multitude without Discipline, Piety, or Courage, could always obtain Victory: But K. Edward and his Army seemed rather to be going to a Wedding than to engage a rough and hardy Enemy; for their Targets, Bucklers, and other Habiliments of War, were so glorious with Gold and Silver, and their bright Armour gave such a dazzling lustre against the Sun-beams, as raised wonder in the admiring Spectators, and seemed to correspond with the wanton Humour of the Prince: And herein it is apparent what Advantages true and sober Courage usually obtains over vain Gallantry, and ungrounded Confidence: King Robert with his Forces which were much inferior to the English being incamp'd near King Edward, he published a strict Order the Evening before, That his Soldiers should prepare themselves for Battel the next day, and should make humble confession of their sins and receive the Blessed Sacrament; and then no doubt the Lord of Hosts would give them Victory, since they designed only to free themselves from the many woful Calamities which they had suffered from the English, and to recover the Liberty of their Country.

Far otherwise was it in the Camp of K. Edward; for the Scots having the day before surprized and cut off several English Horsemen, he was so far from being discouraged at such a slight presage of ill Fortune, that he resolved the very next day to take a terrible Revenge upon them, of which he had such an assurance, that he triumpht before the Victory, his Soldiers car using, and threatening their Enemies with the utmost Cruelties that could be executed upon them: But the Scots to obviate their strength by Policy, had digged before the Front of their Battalions several Trenches there foot

foot in depth, and as many broad, wherein they placed sharp Stakes with their Points upwards, and covered them so exactly with Hurdles, that Foot men might pass lightly over, but the Horse would certainly sink in, and this Stratagem, next to the Anger of Heaven against the English for their Vain-glory and Effeminacy, was the principal cause of the Defeat of K. Edward, for he reposing much Confidence in his Cavalry, the fury of their first Charge was intercepted and stopt by these Pit falls, into which the Horses plunging in great numbers, the Riders were miserably destroyed with much ease by the Scots, whom K. Robert marching on foot in the head of, led on with much Courage and Galantry: The K. of England had marshall'd his Army in good Order, but this unexpected and dismal Discomfiture of his Horse in those mischievous Ditches confounded all his Measures, so that he was compelled after some disordered Resistance, to leave to the Scots the greatest Victory they ever obtained against the English in any Age, either before or since: K. Edward could hardly be persuaded to make his Escape, it being the first time that ever he discovered any Symptoms of the Courage of a valiant English King; but at length being over-persuaded by his Friends, himself and his cowardly Favourite Spencer, whom K. Edward's own Historian calls, A Faint-hearted Kite, fled to a place of Safety. All things proved unfortunate in this Battle, for when the Foot perceived the Horse in that wretched condition, they shot their Arrows at the Scots, who came to kill them, but they being armed in their Fore-parts, received little or no damage, so that they slew a great number of their Friends whose backs were towards them unarmed: The loss fell much upon the Nobility, for there was slain in this Battle Gilbert Clare E. of Gloucester, a Man of singular Valour and Wisdom, the L. Clifford, with several other Peers, besides 700 Knights, Esqs; and Officers

22 *Remarks on the Lives of the*

Officers of Note: The slaughter of the rest could not be great, since the Scots fought on foot: Hector Boetius saith there were 5000 English kill'd, though no other Author will allow of above 10000. The Riches and Plunder taken, doubtless was very valuable. Among the Prisoners, the cheif was Humphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford, who was after exchanged for King Robert's Queen, who had been long time Prisoner in England.

This Battle was fought at a Place called Bannocks Born near Sterling in Scotland, on Midsummer day, June 24. 1314. and King Robert having been formerly Resident in England, Treated the Prisoners with much Civility, and sent the Bodies of the Earl of Gloucester, and Lord Clifford to England to be buried with their Ancestors: From this Overthrow K. Edward and his Minion Spencer made their escape to Berwick, and came from thence to York, where he publickly declared, that he was resolved instantly to raise new Forces, and regain the Honour he had lost, or else to lose his Life in the Attempt: But his Designs proved fruitless; for soon after the strong, and almost impregnable Castle of Berwick, was treacherously betrayed into the hands of K. Robert by one Peter Spalding, whom the King of England had made Gouvernour, who instead of the promised Reward was hanged by the King of Scots for his Treachery: After this the King raised another Army against the Scots, but received a second unhappy Overthrow, returning home with much Ignominy and leaving his Subjects in the North distress'd and unrelieved from the continual Ravages of their implacable Enemies, in as lamentable a manner as ever any People were abandoned by an unworthy and careless Prince.

Of these Disgraces, Losses and Troubles, we may make this useful Observation; That as the Heroick Virtues of excellent Princes are usually crowned with Blessings from Heaven; so for the Iniquities

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of ungodly Kings, both themselves and their Subjects are severely punish'd by the Almighty, before whom Princes must fall as well as common Men, except their hearty Repentance and Amendment procures his Mercy before it be too late: And indeed the Hand of God seem'd now stretcht out against this Kingdom; for about this time so great a Pestilence happened, that the Living were hardly sufficient to bury the Dead: Attended with a dreadful Famine by immoderate Rains in Harvest, which destroyed all the Corn almost throughout England, and the Dearth grew so terrible, that Horse-flesh was counted dainty Victuals: The Poor stole fat Dogs to eat them, yea some compelled with hunger eat their own Children, and others stole their Neighbours Children to eat them: Thieves in Prison kill'd and tore in pieces those that came newly in, and greedily devoured them half alive: The Cows, Sheep, Goats, &c. were generally rotten and corrupted by eating the Grass, which was infected as it grew, so that those who fed of it were poisoned.

But neither these woful Visitations, nor the innumerable Dishonours and Discontents under which the Nation lay, had any Influence upon the King or his Ministers, which gave Encouragement to one John Poydras, a Tanner's Son at Exeter, to attempt a very daring Enterprize, he boldly affirming himself to be the truly begotten Son of Edward I. and that he was changed in his Cradle by his Nurse for a Carter's Child, offering colourable Allegations to prove the same, and among the rest he strongly insisted upon the unprincely Qualities and Actions of the King, such as none could be guilty of that was not of a sordid and obscure Descent. His confident Claim and daring Assertions, quickly affected the Minds of the common People, so that many acknowledged him for their King: But at length he was apprehended, and having confess'd his

his Treason, was condemned and executed for his Folly near Northampton, declaring, that he did it by the motion of a Familiar Spirit, whom he had serv'd three years in the likeness of a Cat. About the same time 200 notorious Thieves and Robbers, being all clothed like Grey Friars, robbed and murdered the Inhabitants of the North-Country, without regard to Quality, Age or Sex; but some Forces being sent against them, the greatest part, were deservedly Executed for the same.

The Nobility and Gentry perceiving the Distempers and Mischiefs in the Realm to increase and grow more dangerous, they, like good Physicians, determined to provide some Remedy for their Redress before it were too late; the miserable Oppressions and Violences daily committed in their view, making them take courage to inform the King, That the two Speacers by their Mismanagement and ill Conduct in the Affairs of State, of whom alone he took Counsel, were the only occasion of all those Calamities which now miserable afflicted the whole Kingdom; and plainly told him, they had so great an Interest in the King's Person and Government, that they were bound in Honour and Conscience to inform his Highness of all Misdemeanours committed by any of his Subjects, which tended to the subversion of the State, and the disturbance of the Publick Peace humbly imploring his Majesty, to dismiss the two Speacers from his Presence, Court, and Council for ever, who corrupted him with monstrous Vices, and render'd him altogether negligent in performing those Royal Offices that God required at his hands; for as subjection belonged to the People, so the King was obliged to afford them Protection, which yet he had most dishonourably neglected, by exposing his Subjects in the North to the Rage of the Scots, and all the Extremities of Hunger and Want. Adding, that if he would not instantly discharge

discharge those two wicked Councillors they must and would do it themselves, though with the hazard of their Lives, and what ever was dear to them in the World.

The King could not chuse but know that this sharp Remonstrance of the Barons was nothing but Truth, and founded upon Honour, Conscience, and true Zeal for their Country, and was as sensible that they were resolved to reform what was amiss. But though his Countenance proclaimed his inward discontent, and his Intentions of surprizing and ruining those Noblemen who discovered their hatred against his beloved *Spencers*; yet he returned the Barons a favourable Answer, assuring them all that was amiss should be redressed by the ensuing Parliament, which he would assemble with all speed. The Lords Rejoyced at this Answer, (as well as the common People) but yet suspected the King intended to seize them at that Solemn Meeting, To prevent which, they came to London, attended with so many of their Friends and Tennants, all in the same Livery, as composed an Army sufficient to secure them against any sinister Attempts.

The King was much disturbed to find he was prevented in his secret Designs, but his greatest grief was, that he found himself unable any longer to protect his detested Favourites for whom he had a more tender affection then for his Queen, Children, and all his Friends besides: whom yet he was compelled by the Parliament to relinquish; by whom it was Enacted with his consent, That they should be banished the Kingdom, never to return under penalty of High Treason.

This being concluded, the Barons longing to see the *Spencers* under Sail, provided Ships for their Transportation. Being gone, to the great satisfaction of the People the King, instead of redressing the remaining Grievances, wholly applied his thoughts how to be avenged of those Lords that had forced

him to comply in decreeing their Exile: And to declare his resentment, when he was informed that the younger Spencer having got a Squadron of Ships together, was turned Pirate in the Narrow Seas Plundering all Nations but especially the English Merchants, to the unspeakable damage of the Realm, having taken out of two Ships only, at Sandwich, Goods to the value of 40000 pound: Upon which great Complaints being made, and many Petitions presented, that a Fleet might be set out for bringing him and his Associates, to punishment as Pirates according to Law, he was so far from providing any Remedy, that he seemed merry at the News, and soon after sent them a general Pardon of all their Crimes; and to ingratiate the Nobility recalled them both from Banishment, and honoured them with more Offices and Authority than they had before.

These strange proceedings of the King, with the notorious Injuries which were committed after their return and advancement who now defied the Power of the Lords, scorning deriding them with the most pungent Affronts, were sufficient Warnings to them take care of their Safetie: Wherefore since neither Petitions, Submissions, nor any other Legal procedure could procure any Remedy they raised a strong Army, and marcht into the Field, and the King with the two Spencers, and some few of the Nobility did the like. Before any Action this odd Accident happened procured, as was thought, by the Contrivance of the King or his Evil Ministers. A certain Knight belonging to *John Earl of Warren*, stole away the Wife of *Thomas Earl of Lancaster*, one of the Chief of the Lord's Party, from his House at Caneford in Dorset shire, and with great Pomp carried her to *E. Warren Castle* at *Rygate in Surrey*, in despight of her Lord and Husband, where one *Rich. Maurice* a wretched lame deformed Dwarf, challenged her for his Wife, pretending he had been formerly Contracted to her, and had lain with her. The Countess though the noble

and richest Inheritrix of that Age, confirmed his Allegations, openly declaring to be immortal infamy, that what he said was true thereby acknowledging her self to be an impudent Strumpet. Upon which this deformed Elf (being encouraged by some great Persons) had the confidence to lay claim to the Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury* in her Right, and the Honour of this great Earl was blasted by a debauched Woman.

This unhappy passage increased the fatal aversion between the King and the Earl; And *Humphry Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, having likewise received some damage from the Spencers, these two allured most of the Nobility to join with them. So that being now gotten into Arms they marched with Banners display'd under the command of the Earl of *Lancaster*, whom they constituted their General, and after many sharp encounters the Armies met at *Burton* upon *Trent*, where both Parties fought with such obstinate desire of revenge, that he was reckoned the most valiant man who drencht his Sword deepest in Blood. The Nobles now forgot that they fought against their Sovereign Lord, and the King would by no means acknowledge, that his Tyranny and Misgovernment had compelled them to take Arms. Now neither Kindred, Alliance, Neighbourhood, Religion, Country, nor any other obligation had the least power over their enraged minds. Nothing but death and wounds must determine the controversie between them; at length when many of the Lords, and thousands of their Adherents were slain, they fled, and were pursued by the King, the Earl of *Hereford* was slain by a Welshman, who thrust a Spear into his Body between the Chinks of a Wooden Bridge. The Earl of *Lancaster* with eighty Lords and Knights were taken Prisoners.

The occasion of this great Defeat of the Barons is attributed in some measure to an unhappy Accident a while before. For Queen *Isabel*, who upon all occasions

sions used her utmost Interest to procure a right Understanding between the K. and the Peers, coming from *Canterbury* to the Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, where she designed to lodge that Night, was denied entrance by the L. *Badlesmere*, one of the E. of *Lancaster*'s Party, wherewith being offended she made great complaint thereof to the King, who glad of any opportunity to be revenged of the Barons, came in Person with a strong Party before the Castle, many of the Queen's Friends, who were formerly on the other side joining with him. The Lord himself was gone with the rest of the Noblemen to destroy the Lands of the two *Spencers*, having left his Wife and Children in the Castle, and a Captain to command there. After some time the Besieged finding little hope of relief, were forced to surrender to the King at *Mercy*, who hanged five or six of the principal Persons, and committed the L. *Badlesmere*'s Wife and Children to the Tower. After which many of the Barons misdoubting their strength, deserted their Chief the E. of *Lancaster*, which made the Victory the more easily incline to the King.

The third day after the Battle, the King resolving to take his full swing of Vengeance upon the Barons, sat in Judgment in Person at *Pomfret Castle*, with the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Surrey* and the two *Spencers*. Before whom the E. of *Lancaster* and the rest being brought, Sentence was pronounced against them to be drawn, hanged and quartered as guilty of High Treason, by *Andrew Harkley* a Man of small Fortune, but made E. of *Carlisle*, and Lord Chief Justice, for taking the E. of *Lancaster* and several other Lords Prisoners after the late Fight. The E. of *Lancaster* being the King's Uncle was beheaded the same day at *Pomfret*, but the other Lords were hanged and quartered in several parts of the Realm. As the Lords *Lisle*, *Touchet*, *Manduit*, *Bradburn*, *Fitz Williams* and *Cheyney* at *Pomfret*. The Lords *Clifford*, *Mowbray* and *Deynville* hang'd in Chains at *York*. The L. *Gifford* at *Glocester*.

Gloucester. The L. Teys at London. The L. Aldenham at Windsor, and the Lords Badlesmere and Ashburnham at Canterbury. And several other Baronets, Knights, Esqs; and Gentlemen were executed in other Places. Never did English Earth at one time drink up so much Blood of her Nobility and Gentry shed in so vile a manner, which whatsoever was pretended, was reckoned by the People to be spilt upon the account of the two ravenous Favourites the Spencers, nor was it long unrevenged with the destruction of the principal Actors. The King then seized all their Estates as forfeited to the Crown.

This Havock being made of the Nobility to the astonishment of the rest, and the terror of the vulgar, the Spencers were so elevated by this Victory, that instead of reforming those abuses that might occasion the like and giving the King good Counsel, they commit greater Rapines than before, making their Will a Law in all things. And presuming all Affairs should for the future be managed according to their Pleasure, they advise the King to call a Parliament at York, in which he created Edward his eldest Son Prince of Wales and Duke of Aquitain; and Sir Hugh Spencer the Father made L. of Winchester, and Sir Hugh the Son L. of Gloucester. And exacted the sixth Penny of all Mens Estates and Goods for his Wars against the Scots, the levying of which Tax caused much murmuring among the People, who affirmed, That they were already impoverished and ruined by War, Famine, and the disordered Government of the King and his Evil Counsellors.

The King being persuaded that his late Successes had rendered him as terrible to the Scots as to his own Subjects, and that they were uncapable of resisting so great a Power as he had raised against them, resolved now to call them to a strict account for all their Inroads, Murthers and Robberies. The Scots being secretly inform'd that K. Edward intended to invade their Country, and revenge the Wrongs he

had received from Robert Bruce their King, endeavoured to divert him by landing a great Army in Ireland, but the King having timely notice of their design, made such Provision that the greatest part of the Assailants were slain, and the rest fled to their Ships and returned shamefully to their own Country. He then marched with a gallant Army into Scotland, and the Scots Nobility with some thousands of Men pretended to give him Battle, but intended nothing less: For at his approach they retired in good Order into the Woods, Forrests, and Mountains of their Country, and the English were quite tired and dispirited in pursuing them through those difficult Passages, so that in a short time, for want of Provisions and Necessaries, and by reason of the Rains, Hail, Snow and Frosts incident to that cold Region, the King's Forces were so afflicted with Sickness and Mortality, that they were obliged to retire without performing any thing suitable to such mighty Preparations, whom the Scots pursued, and one Night assaulted them with such Fury, that the King himself narrowly escaped, who finding his Army scattered, he was forced to save his Life by an ignominious Flight, and to leave behind him his Treasure, Cannon, Tents and Furniture, a joyful Prize to the Victorious Scots.

This last Disaster was occasioned by the Treachery of Sir Andrew Harkley the new made Earl of Carlisle, who under pretence of making Peace with the Scots, secretly agreed to marry the Daughter of K. Robert, whereupon he was seized and carried to London in Chains, and being brought to the Bar before Sir Anthony Lucy, in the Robes of an Earl with his Sword girt, Hosed, Booted, and Spur'd, the Judge spake thus to him, *Sir Andrew, the King for thy Valour and Good Service hath advanced thee to great Honour, and made the Earl of Carlisle, notwithstanding which, thou, as a Traitor to thy Lord and King, leddest a Party that should have assisted him at the Battle of Bayland in Scotland, away by Copland through Lancashire, by which*

which Falseness and Treason of thine our Lord the King was discomfited by the Scots, whereas if thou hadst arrived in time he might have gained the Victory. And this Treason thou didst wilfully commit, for a great Sum of Gold and Silver which thou didst receive from James Dowglas a Scot, and the King's Enemy. For which great Crime our Lord the King hath commanded that thou be deprived of the Order of Knighthood wherewith he hath honoured thee, for a terror to all other Knights, to avoid the like Treachery. Then his Spurs were he sed from his Heels and his Sword, with which he was Knighted and Girt when created an Earl, was broken over his Head, he was then unclothed of all his Robes of Honour and State, and his Coat of Arms defaced. After which the Judge proceeded thus, *Andrew, thou art now no Knight but a Knave, and for thy Treason the King hath appointed that thou shalt be hanged, thy Head smitten off and placed on Loudou-Bridge, thy Bowels taken out and burnt, thy Body quartered, and thy four Quarters set up in four principal Cities of England for an example to such heinous Offenders.* Which Sentence was accordingly executed upon him.

Thus ended this unfortunate Expedition, to the great reproach and loss of the English, and the scandal of the King, who was grown sufficiently infamous already for making the Kingdom a shambles for the Nobility. Yet in the midst of these Calamities the two Spencers rid Triumphant in the Chariot of Favour, Power, Honour and Riches, enjoying great part of the Estate of the late unfortunate Earl of Lancaster, and in this Grandeur they continued five years, notwithstanding the utmost Efforts of their potent, and numerous Adversaries, who continually meditated their destruction. During which time the Queens Interest declined, who for shewing some relentings at the severity used to the Lords, and expressing her dislike of the overgrown Authority of the two wicked Favourites, by whose Persuasions she was sensible the King her Husband abandoned her

Company and Bed, was extreamly hated by them So that they continued their impious Artifaces to allure the King into the Company of Harlots, and to avoid any Converse with her. And it did appear, that they working upon the King's Inclination, were the principal Advisers of that sharp Revenge upon the Lords for their own ambitious, and avaritious Ends, whereby at length they brought inevitable ruin upon their Sovereign, which the following Instance seems plainly to confirm. Among those who were condemned for joining with the *Earl of Lancaster*, there was one poor Fellow, for whose Life, because he had long continued at Court, many great Courtiers interceded, and pressed the Matter so far, that the King in a rage replied. *A Plague on you for a Company of cursed Whisperers, malicious Backbiters, Flatterers and wicked Counsellors, who can beg so heartily for saving the Life of a notorious wicked Knav*, and yet could not speak a word in the behalf of the most noble *Knight Earl Thomas of Lancaster my near Kinsman, whose Life and Connels would now have been of great Use and Service to the Kingdom. Whereas this Wretch, the longer he lives, the more Villanies will he commit, having already made himself notorious throughout the Realm for his horrid Crimes and Outrages. For which (by the Soul of God) he shall dye the death he hath justly deserved; and he was accordingly executed.* This may be some evidence that the King was over persuaded to commit those Tragedies upon the Lords, for he was reckoned to be naturally merciful, and devout according to the Religion of those times, but fatally misled by depraved Counsellors, though he is therein inexcusable, since it is usually said, That good Nature cannot satisfie for publick Errors and Mischiefs.

The *Spencers* still continued their profligate Courses, and aspiring to more absolute Dominion, resolv-ed to leave nothing unattempted that might rivet them in the Affections of the King, and enrich them-selves which begot unimplacable Enmity in the Peo- ple

ple both against them and their Master, their Insolence being such, that they abridged the Queen of her usual allowance, so that she had not wherewith to maintain her self, while themselves abounded in all manner of Plenty and Magnificence, which caused her publickly to complain. That the Daughter and Sole Heir of the King of France was married to a miserable Wretch, who did not allow her necessaries, and that being promised to be a Queen, she was now become no better than a waiting Gentlewoman, subsisting only upon a Pension from the Spencers. And dreading their Malice she took her eldest Son Prince Edward, and privately withdrew into France to her Brother Charles, by whom she was kindly received, and comforted with solemn Oaths and Promises that he would effectually assist her against all her Enemies, and redress the Grievances of the Kingdom. A while after the Barons, by their Letters, assured her of their best help and service to her Self and Son; declaring, that if she would return to England with a thousand Men, they would raise so great a Strength to join them, as should make the Spencers feel the smart of their un-sufferable Follies. The Queen was rejoiced with the hopes of Success. But the two Spencers doubting the Event if she should return with Forces, and having the Treasure of the Kingdom at Command, they corrupted K. Charles and his Council with such prodigious sums of Gold and Silver, and such rich Jewels, that not only all Succour was denied her, but the French K. reprimanded her sharply for having so un-dutifully forsaken her Lord and Dear Husband. Yea the Pope (and many of the Cardinals) being ingaged with rich Presents by the Spencers, required K. Charles under the Penalty of Cursing to send the Queen and Prince to K. Edward. And doubtless she had been unsaturally betrayed by her own Brother, had she not privately made her escape to the Earl of Heynault in Germany, where she was entertained with joy by the E. and the L. Beaumont his Brother, who resolved to accompany her into England. B 5 King

King Edward and his profligate Favourites having intelligence of their Intentions, he sent to demand his Wife and Son but not succeeding, and the Spencers knowing that if there should be an Agreement between the King, his Queen, and the Barons, they must have been made Sacrifices to appease the resentments of the People, resolve to make the Breach irreconcileable, by persuading the King to proclaim the Queen and Prince, with all their Adherents, Traytors and Enemies to the King and Kingdom ; banishing all that he thought were well affected to them, and keeping a severe Eye over the discontented Barons ; and it was reported, That a secret Plot was laid to have taken away the Lives both of the Queen and her Son. While the Queen continued in Heynault, she concluded a Marriage between the Prince then about fourteen years old, and the Lady *Philippa* that Earl's Daughter, and soon after with 300 Knightt and 1700 Common Soldiers, Germans and English, commanded by the Earl of Heynault, with the Earls of Kent, Pembroke, the Lord Beumont, and many other Egglishe-men of Quality, she arrived at *Orwell* in *Suffolk* : Upon the first Intelligence of their Landing, the Lords and Barons, with joyful hearts and numerous Troops of resolute Gallants compleatly Armed, repaired to her Assistance so that her Forces hourly increased.

Her arrival being reported to the King, He poor Prince was so surprized, that he knew not what course to take, being as destitute of Friends and Means to defend himself, as he was of Courage and Counsel: However, he requested Aid of the Citizens of London, whose Answer was, That they would honour with all duty the King, Queen, and Prince their Son, who was lawful Heir to the Kingdom, but that they would shut their Gates against all Foreigners, and Traytors to the Realm, and with all their Powers withstand them ; but that they were obliged to go no further out of their City to fight, than that according

according to their Charter they might return home again before Sunset. This uncertain Answer so dis-couraged the King, that he resolved to withdraw to the Marches of Wales for levying an Army, attended with the two Spencers, and *Baldock* Bishop of *Nor-wich* their intimate Friend. Before he went he ordered the Tower of London to be fortified, which he committed to the Custody of Sir *John Weston*, it being well provided with Men and Victuals, leaving also to his care his younger Son, called Lord *John of Eltham*, with the Countess of *Glocester*, the King's Niece, Wife to the younger Spencer, and gave the Government of the City to *Walter Stapilton*, Bishop of *Exeter* (a Creature of the Spencers) his chief Tre-a-surer, causing a Proclamation to be published, enjoyn-ing all his Subjects to oppose kill, and destroy all the partakers with the Queen, her self, her Son, and the Earl of *Kent* his half Brother only excepted. On the other side, the Queen made Proclamation, That no Person whatsoever should receive any damage from her Army, but only those two notorious *Mis-creants* the Spencers, *Baldock* Lord Chancellor, and their Associates; and that she came over for no other end, but to bring to condign punishment those noto-rious *Traytors* and *Misleaders* of the King, promis-ing a thousand pound to any who should bring her the Head of the younger Spencer.

The King had no sooner took his last leave of the City, and thereby of his Crown and Dignity, but the Londoners scorning to submit to their insolent Governour apprehended *Stapilton* and two of his Servants, and without any Tryal beheaded them at the Standard in *Cheapside*, with oþe *John Marshal* a Citizen and Friend of the Spencers: They likewise surprized the Tower, - killing all that opposed them, and declared Lord *John* the King's Son, Keeper of the City, securing both for the Queen and the yoang Prince: All Prisoners in the Kingdome were likewise set at liberty, and all banished Men recalled, which

much

much augmented the Queen's Power.

The King hearing of his Revolt, altered his purpose of raising Forces: But whither could this poor Prince fly? What course could he take for his own Safety? who, to gratifie a few profligate Miscreants, had made his Wife, his Son, his Nobility, and his People, his avowed Enemies; At length he concluded to go to *Bristol*, which he fortified as strongly as he was able, giving the Government of the Town to the Earl of *Arundel*, *Hugh Spencer the Elder*, himself, with the younger *Spencer* retiring into the Castle, which they resolved to defend.

The Queen marched from *Oxford* to *Gloucester* in her way to *Bristol*, which she designed to besiege, her Forces increasing all the way: The Earls of *Leicester* and *Marshal*, the Lords *Peircy*, *Wake*, and other Noblemen both from *Wales* and the *North*, with the Bishops of *Hereford*, *Ely* and *Lincoln*, and a great number of Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, coming in to her Assistance: With this great Army she arrived at *Bristol*, and besieged it: The City was taken in a few days, with the *Elder Spencer* the Governour, whom the Queen, at the earnest importunity of the People, commanded to be hanged in his Armour on the common Gallows without the City, and then cut down alive, his Bowels taken out and burnt before his Eyes, his head cut off, and his Body hanged up again by the Feet; for four days as a miserable spectacle to all Beholders; his Body was after cut to pieces, and given to the Dogs and his Head set upon *Winchester Castle*.

The King, the younger *Spencer*, and Bishop *Baldock*, distrusting their ability to defend the Castle retired secretly in the night, and getting into a small Fisher-boat determined to fly into the Isle of *Lundy*, in the mouth of the River *Severn*, about two Miles in length, and as many broad, stored with Rabbits, Pigeons and other Fowls, encompassed with the Sea, and having only one passage into it, so narrow, that

two Men can scarce go abreast : But Providence seemed to wiihstand their purpose, so that every day for a week or more, when they attempted to Row their Boat thither, the Wind and Waves drove it back again toward the Castle, which being at length perceived by the Lord Beumont, he chased the Fisher-boat with a small Vessel, and boarding it found therein the King, young Spencer, and Baldcock, whom they so much desired, and brought them to the Queen, who caused them to be carried and set in sight of the Besieged in the Castle, which was still defended by *Hugolin*, Grandchild to the Elder Spencer, with much courage ; and now finding no hope of relief, surrendered it upon condition to have his own and his Companions Lives saved.

Some Authors write, That the King going into a Vessel out of *Bristol Castle*, designed to flie into Ireland, and that after he had wander'd a week upon the Sea, Sir *Thomas Blount*, one of his Friends forsaking him, and going to the Queen, he came ashore in *Glamorganshire*, where with his few Followers he intrusted himself with the *Welsh*, who had still a kindness for him : The King not appearing, Proclamation was made, That the Barons and People desired his return to the Exercise of the Government, provided he would remedy what was amiss : Whereupon *Henry Earl of Lancaster*, Brother to the late Earl, Sir *William Zouch*, and *Rice ap Howel*, who had all Lands in *Wales*, were sent with Money and Forces to discover him, which so prevailed upon the *Welsh* men, that they delivered him up, with the younger Spencer *Baldock*, and one *Simon Reading*, and received a Reward of 2000 pound, They were brought to the Queen, who was then at *Hereford* ; with *Adam Tarlton* the active Bishop, and the King was conveyed by the Earl of *Lancaster* to *Kennelworth Castle*. After which the Queen and Prince, attended by the Barons and a strong Army marched toward *London*, carrying with them the younger Spencer in Chains like a Slave, before

before whom some Fidlers, scornfully played upon Pipes made of Reeds, skipping, dancing and singing through every Town as they passed along. Spencer and Simon Reading, another evil instrument, were sentenced to Death by Sir William Trussel as Traytors. Spencer in his Armour was with all manner of scorn and insults from the People, drag'd to a Gallows set up on purpose fifty foot high, where being hanged, he was cut down, beheaded, and quartered. His head set upon *London bridge*, and his Quarters in four principal Towns of the Kingdom, Simon Reading was hanged ten foot lower on the same Gallows, and Robert Baldock was committed Prisoner to *Newgate*, where with grief and hard usage he soon after died. This happened in 1326.

Thus Divine Vengeance pursued these two ambitious and profligate Wretches the Spencers Father and Son, and brought those who set at defiance the Nobility, Gentry, and People to such ignominious deaths, as by their vile actions they had justly merited. Since by their profligate Counsels, they prevailed upon the King to commit all kind of Enormites by forsaking the Bed of his lawful Wife, and living in all manner of debauchery with common Strumpets. By destroying his Nobility and Gentry, by all kind of Rapines upon the common People, by suffering their Enemies to Plunder and Beggar them without any redress, and by many other misdemeanors, which rendered him odious to his Subjects made him rule rather like a Tyrant than a King and occasioned his Deposition and Death, which soon after followed.

For the Queen having summoned a Parliament, it was by General consent of the three Estates concluded, That King Edward should reign no longer, but his Son the Prince should be advanced to the Throne. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* Preaching a Sermon, and taking for his Text this Maxim *Vox Populi Vox Dei*, The Voice of People is the Voice of God, Exhorting all his Auditors to Pray to the King of Kings,

to bless and prosper the King that they had Elected. The Queen seemed very sorrowful and even distract-
ed at her Husband's deposition, and the P. lamented
for his Mothers grief, swearing he would not accept
of the Crown without his Father's consent. To
content them both, Commissioners are sent to the
King, who persuaded him to make a formal Resigna-
tion of the Government, and then his Son was
Crowned King. And not long after the Father be-
ing removed to Corf Castle was barbarously murdered
by his Keepets, who through a Horn run a burning
hot Spit into his Fundament, of which he instantly
died. I shall add no more, having already given a
particular Account of his Resignation and Death in
a Book called *Admirable Curiosities and Rarities in*
every County in England, &c. To which I refer the
Reader.

Remarks



Remarks upon the Life, Actions and Fatal Fall of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Favourite to Queen Isabel, Widow to King Edward II. and Mother to King Edward III.

SUCH is the Malignity of Human Nature, that though there are daily Examples of Divine Vengeance executed upon notorious Offenders, yet Men continue to perpetrate the same Crimes that plunged their Predecessors into Misery and Ruin. Of this, *Roger Mortimer* is an obvious Instance, who though he were an Eye-witness of the fatal Fall of the three unfortunate Favourites, *Gaveston* and the two *Spencers*, with divers of their Associates in the former Reign: Yea though he himself was instrumental in their destruction, and active in pretending to reform the Grievances

Grievances of the Kingdom: Yet no sooner was K. Edward by his means deposed, and a young Prince advanced to the Throne under the Government of his Mother, but he, by managing the Queen, occasioned many Mischiefs not much inferior to those of the former abhorred Minions, yea exceeding their Wickedness in one point, namely, in being criminally concerned with the Queen Dowager, which was one of the Articles the Parliament charged him with. But as he disregarded these Warnings, and impudently committed the like Faults, so the Justice of Heaven visited him with the same deserved Punishment.

He was descended from *Roger called the Great L. Mortimer of Wigmore in the Marches of Wales*, who was his Grandfather, and revived and erected again the Round Table at *Kennelworth* after the Ancient Order of King *Arthur's Table* with the Retinue of 100 Knights and 100 Ladies in his House, for entertaining such Adventurers as came thither from all Parts of Christendom. This Young *Roger* inherited his Estate and Grandeur. And Queen *Isabel*, Wife to K. *Edward II.* and Daughter to *Philip the Fair, K. of France*, being in the glory of her Youth forsaken by the King her Husband, who delighted only in the Company of *Pierce Gaveston* his Minion and Favourite, she fell passionately in love with the Lord *Wigmore*, though before she was accounted the most virtuous Lady of that Age.

After the death of *Gaveston*, the King, instead of being reformed, was presently infatuated with the love of two others, the *Spencers Father and Son*, who were as bad if not worse than he for Debauchery. Whereupon the Earls of *Lancaster, Hereford, Warwick, Lincoln* and others, rise in Arms against them, they having taken an Oath to King *Edward I.* on his death-bed to oppose his Son *Edward* if he ever recalled *Gaveston* from *Exile*; and finding that his death had not much bettered the State of the Kingdom, they thought themselves obliged by the same Oath

Oath to endeavour the Ruin of them also, and thereby the redressing the many Oppressions under which the Nation groaned. This *Roger Lord Wigmore*, a Man of an invincible Spirit, and his Uncle *Roger Mortimer the Elder* resolved to join with the Lords in this Attempt, and being very busie in raising Forces, were taken before they could muster them, and by the King committed to the Tower of *London*. But the Queen by means of *Tarlton Bishop of Hereford*, and *Beck Bishop of Durham*, and *Patriarch of Jerusalem*, both mighty Men in the State, prevailed so far, that the King upon their Submission was somewhat pacified. But afterward when he had gained a great Victory against the Barons, the young *Lord Wigmore* and his Uncle were condemned to be drawn and hang'd at *Westminster*, and the day of Execution was appointed. Whereupon the *Younger Wigmore* some time before pretended to make a great Feast in honour of his Birth-day, inviting thereunto *Sir Stephen Seagrave*, Constable of the Tower, with the rest of the Officers belonging thereto, and after he had made them very merry, he gave to each a large Cup of a sleepy Drink prepared by *Queen Isabel*, by which means he made his escape, breaking out of his Chamber, and with a strong Ladder of Ropes provided by a Friend, got over the Wall, leaving the Ropes fastened thereunto, which the next day were beheld with astonishment, considering the danger of the Attempt. He then swam over the *Thames* into *Kent*, and avoiding the Highways came to the Seaside near *Portsmouth*, where happily meeting with a Ship bound for *France* he passed over, and lived in that Court several Years. His Uncle *Roger* was detained in a loathsome Prison five Years, and at length died and was buried at *Bristol*. King *Edward* was so enraged at his Escape, that he turned *Sir Stephen Seagrave* out of his Constablership, and several Citizens were seized and accused of being accessory to his getting away, and of corresponding with and maintaining him beyond Sea,

but

but there not being sufficient Proof against them, they were all acquitted.

Mortimer continued in France till Queen Isabel and the Prince arrived there, to avoid the Insults of the two Spencers. He after attended the Queen into Germany, and came over with her and the rest of the English Lords, the E. of Heynault, and several German and English Forces. And upon King Edward's Flight, and afterward his Seizing and Imprisonment, Mortimer managed all Affairs according to his own Pleasure, and the death of the Spencers, Reading and some others not satisfying his Revenge, being high in the Queens favour who could not deny him the Heads of a few of his Enemies, he procured that the Earl of Arundel and two Gentlemen more, named John Daniel and Thomas Mochelden, against whom he had a particular aversion, should be beheaded at Hereford. After this the Queen, her Son, and the beloved Mortimer went to Wallingford Castle, where they kept their Christmass with all manner of Jollity. From thence they proceeded to London, where the Queen and Prince were received with much Joy, and many rich Presents: And a Parliament being called, it was concluded, that King Edward should be deposed and his Son advanced to the Throne. In the Management whereof Mortimer discovered much Zeal, as hoping thereby to become Chief Minister of State, as well as principal Favourite of the Queen. K. Edward was deposed accordingly, and confined to Kennelworth Castle, the Queen, Roger Mortimer and Carlton, Bishop of Herford, having concluded to allow him an hundred Marks a Month for his Expences.

And now it was hoped that the Kingdom, having suffered so many Concussions and Miseries for several Years, would have been restored to its former Tranquillity. But it soon appeared, that though it had changed its Master, yet other evil Instruments succeeded to disquiet the already harassed People. So that one Historian writes thus, The beginning of the Reign

Reign of K. Edward III. was very troublesome, for he, by reason of his tender Age, being but fifteen years old when he came to the Crown, was drawn aside by evil Counsel, and committed many foul Errors of State and Government. The chief occasion of which were the Queen, her Darling *Roger Mortimer*, and some others. For first they procured so great a part of the Revenue to be settled for maintaining the Queen and her Family, that the young King had scarce a third part of it for his Attendants and Officers. So that she and her Favourite *Mortimer* lived in the greatest State and Grandeur, and the People began to exclaim against him, and say publickly, That the Hatred he had shewed against the Rāpines of the Spencers, was not because they had been oppressive to the Subject, but that he was desirous no Body should abuse them but himself. Secondly, The Queen and he having Intelligence that several great Persons, and the whole Order of Friars Preachers taking Pity of the late King's Captivity, seemed to consult for his deliverance, and knowing that his Restoration would be their Confusion, they contrived to add Murther to their former Impieties, and *Roger Mortimer* was sent with that ambiguous Order to his Keepers, devised by *Tarlton, Bishop of Hereford*,

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.

*To shed King Edward's Blood
Refuse to fear I count it good.*

where by leaving out the Stops, they sufficiently encouraged the Murtherers, and produced the Writing for their own Justification when the horrid Fact was committed. Though this was far from clearing them from the guilt of it in the opinion of the Vulgar, who had before heard, that though the Queen in her outward deportment pretended much Grief for the Imprisonment of her Husband, yet instead of visiting

visiting him in his distress, which he often desired, as still retaining a great love for her, she only sent him fine Clothes and kind Letters, but contrary to the Laws of God and Man refrained from rendering him any Nuptial Duties, which they plainly reported she bestowed freely enough upon her bloody Adulterer *Mortimer*. She pretending in the mean time, that Reasons of State would not allow her to converse with him. And soon after this desolate Prince was by an express Order from the Young King procured by them, removed from *Kennelworth* to *Corf Castle*, and there miserably deprived of his Life. Thirdly, in the second Year of the young King's Reign, *Robert Bruce* King of *Scotland* denounced War against him, which occasioned the raising an Army of 50000 Men, with which the King, accompanied by the Queen Mother, *Roger Mortimer*, the Lord of *Heynault*, *John L. Beumont* and many others of the Nobility and Gentry, marched towards the *Scots*, who had invaded *England*. And had so happily encompass'd them in the Wood of *Wirkdale* and *Stanhope Park*, that the English seemed fully assured of Victory. Yet by the Treachery of *Roger Mortimer*, they were not only suffered to escape without any loss; but *Sir James Dowglass* in the dead of the Night with 200 Light-Horse assaulted the King's own Pavilion, and had certainly killed him, had not one of his Chaplains, a valiant Man, sacrificed his own Life in defence of his Sovereign's: *Dowglass*, after this bold Attempt, escaped back without damage, but not without honour for his daring Courage. This Misfortune was afterward charged upon *Mortimer*, as designing by the death of the King to usurp the Crown: The *Scots* left their Camp entire behind them, and therein 500 Oxen and Cows ready killed, a 1000 Spits full of Roast-Meat; 500 Caldrons made of Cow hides with the Hair on, full of Flesh Boiling over Fires: And 10000 pair of Shoes, made of raw Hides with the Hair outward; All which became a welcome Booty

Booty to the English Soldiers. Fourthly, After this dishonourable Retreat of the King, who was extremely grieved to return so ingloriously, notwithstanding the Expence of a vast Treasure, and the imminent danger of his own Person, and just before the death of K. Robert, who died of the Leprosie, being accounted one of the most Valiant Warriors of that Age, as having redeemed his Country from Slavery, and by whose loss it appeared of how much value the Courage and Conduct of a Prince is; yet before he died, by the contrivance of the Queen Mother, Roger Mortimer and their Adherents, such a dishonourable Peace was made with the Scots as displeased the whole Kingdom, and in the end proved fatal to the principal Actor Mortimer. For at this Treaty the King, then in his Minority, sealed Charters to the Scots at Northampton contrived by the Queen, her Favourite, and Sir James Dowglass, without the Knowledge or Consent of the Peers of England, whereby that famous Charter, called Ragmans Roll, was surrendered to them with several Jewels, and among them one of an extraordinary Value, called the Black Cross of Scotland, all which were taken from the Scots by the Victorious K. Edward I. The Scots Kings were likewise discharged forever from doing Homage to the Kings of England, or acknowledging them to have any Right or Superiority over that Kingdom: And that all Englishmen should forfeit their Lands in Scotland unless they went and resided there, and swore Allegiance to that King; Moreover under pretence of reparation for Damages, K. Robert was obliged to pay the K. of England 30000 Marks Sterling, which Money was given to Mortimer as a reward for his procuring this mischievous Treaty. And to conclude all David Bruce, Prince of Scotland, a Child of 7 or years Old, and Heir to K. Robert, married Jane, Sister to K. Edward at Berwick; whom the Scots in derision both of the Peace and Marriage scornfully nicknamed Jane Make-Peace.

Lastly,

Lastly, The Queen and Mortimer being sensible that some of the Principal Nobility disliked their proceedings, and absolute Government; they resolved to remove them out of the way, and among others Edward Earl of Kent the King's Uncle: To effect this, it is said, Mortimer caused a report to be spread that K. Edward II. was still alive at Corf Castle, but not to be seen in the day time; and to countenance the deceit, for many Nights together there were Lights set up in all the Windows of the Castle, and an appearance made of Masking, Dancing, and other Royal Solemnities, as if for the King's diversion: This being observed by the Country People, they confirmed the rumour of the late King's being there, which was soon dispersed throughout England. The Earl of Kent hearing the news, sent a Preaching Frier to the Castle to find out the truth; who by giving Money to the Porter, was admitted into the Castle, lying privately in his Lodg all day, At night the Porter causing him to put off his own Priestly Robes, and put on his, the Frier was brought into the Hall where he saw, as he imagined, K. Edward II. sitting in Royal Majesty at supper. The Frier returning to the Earl, assured him of the reality of what he had seen; whereupon the Earl being discontented, swore he would endeavour by all ways possible to deliver his Brother out of Prison, and restore him to his Throne, ingaging several Noblemen in the design, with the Provincial of the White and Carmelite Friars, the Bishop of London and others: This Conspiracy being discovered, though it were only a Lye and fancy, the Frier being imposed upon by a King made of Clouts, yet the Earl of Kent by his words and some Letters found about him, was condemned as a Traytor, for conspiring to set a dead Man at liberty. But so generally was this Noble Lord beloved that he stood upon a Scaffold at the Castle Gates at Winchester, from Noon till five at Night for want of an Executioner, none being to be found that would behead him,

till at length *Mortimer* sent for a poor wretched Fellow out of the Jayl, who with many blows hacked his Head from his Body.

Mortimer and his Associates making so little conscience of shedding Royal Blood with their other Male Administrations, it raised inveterate Discontent against them: But they resolved to support their Grandeur in despight of Peers and People, and summoned a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where *Roger Mortimer* appeared in much Splendor, being created E. of *March*, and having greater Attendance and stronger Guards than the King himself, whom he would suffer to rise up him, and walked as his Companion, yea went before him with his Officers. He likewise insolently rebuked the E. of *Lancaster* the King's Cousin, that without his leave he had taken up Lodgings in the Town so near the Queen, and obliged him, with the Earls of *Hereford* and *Essex*, to remove a Mile from *Nottingham*: This notorious Affront caused great murmuring among the Noble men, who said publickly, That *Roger Mortimer*, the Queens Gallant and the King's Master, sought to destroy all the Royal Blood, thereby to usurp the Crown; which some of the King's Friends being concerned at, endeavoured to make him sensible of his danger, swearing, that if he would espouse their Cause, they would faithfully assist him, and secure his Person.

The Young King began already to act the Man much beyond his years; so that the Lords prevailed upon him to join with them in asserting his own Authority, which he himself saw so much lessened by *Mortimer's* overgrown Power. He was likewise informed, that it was commonly reported the Queen was with Child by *Mortimer*, to the great dishonour both of his Mother and himself, and the Grief of all his Loyal Subjects: Hereupon he resolutely engaged with the Peers to bring this Miscreant and his Abettors to Punishment. In order to which, *R. Holland*, who had been

long

long Governor of Nottingham Castle, and knew all the secret Conveyances therein, was taken into the Design: Now there was in the Castle a private Passage cut through the Rock upon which it is built; divided into two ways, one opening toward the River Trent, which runs under it, and the other went a great deal farther under the adjoining Meadows, and was after called *Mortimer's Hole*: The King lying one Night without the Castle, was conducted by Torch-light through this Passage himself and his valiant Attendants being all well armed, and their Swords drawn, till he came to the Door of the Queen's Bed-Chamber, which the secure and careless Lords had left wide open: Some of the foremost entred the Room, desirous the King to retire a little, that the Queen might not see him, and slew Sir Hugh Turpington, who opposed them; they then went towards the Queen Mother, with whom they found Mortimer, both just ready to go into Bed, and seizing him led him into the Hall, whom the Queen followed, crying out, *Bel filz, bel filz, ayes pitie de gentil Mortimer*, Good Son take pity upon the gentle Mortimer: For she suspected the King was there, though she did not see him. Then were the Keys sent for, and all the Castle with the Ammunition, and Provisions delivered up to the King so secretly, that none without the Castle had any Knowledge of it, but only the King's Friends. This was counted a very daring Enterprize in regard that Mortimer had usually 180 Knights, besides Esqs; and Gentlemen, as a constant Guard for the security of his Person.

The next Morning early Roger Mortimer and his Accomplices were carried with mighty shoutings and rejoycings of the Common People (the poor Earl of Lancaster, though blind, making up the cry) toward London, and was committed to the Tower: And soon after in a Parliament at Westminster, was Condemned by his Peers, without being brought to Tryal, by a Law of Mortimer's own contriving,

whereby the Earls of Lancaster, Winchester, Gloucester, and Kent were formerly put to Death. The following Articles of High Treason were laid to his charge.

1. That he was consenting to the Murther of the King's Father, 2. That he Treacherously occasioned much loss and dishonour to the King at Stanhope Park by procuring the escape of the Scots, for which he had received a great Sum of Money. 3. That he caused several Ancient Deeds and Charters to be burnt, wherein the King of Scots was obliged to do homage to the King of England, and had made dishonourable Contract between the King's Sister, and David Bruce King Robert's Son, 4. That he had been an Evil Councillor to the King, and too familiar with the Queen Mother. All which Articles are sum'd up in the following ragged Rymes, which might very well have been in Prose; but for their Antiquity and brevity, I will here insert them.

Five heinous crimes against him soon were had.

1. That he caused the King to yield to the Scot,
To make a Peace, Towns that were from them got,
And therewithal the Charter called Ragman.
2. He by the Scots was brib'd for private gain.
3. That by his means King Edward of Carnarvan,
In Berkley Castle Treacherously was slain.
4. That with his Prince's Mother he had lain.
5. And finally with polling at his pleasure,
Had rob'd the K. and Commons of their Treasure.

For these Treasons he was sentenced to be hanged and ignominiously drawn in a Sledg to Tyburn, thence called the Elms, and there upon the common Glows he was as ignominiously Executed, hanging the King's command, two Days, and two Nights, a pleasing spectacle to the wronged People: He died with him Sir Simon Bedford, and John Devill Esq; as well for the expiation of the late King Edward's detestable Murther, as in complement, as were, to so great a Man's fall, who seldom perished without company.

The King by the advice of Parliament deprived the Queen of her excessive Dowry, allowing her only a Thousand Pound a Year, and confining her to a Monastery during Life but giving her the honour of a visit once or twice a Year, though judging her scarce worthy to live, in regard of her Debaucheries with Mortimer, and many other heinous practices.

From the sudden ruin of his great Favourite Mortimer, we may Remark what Inchantments, Honour, Riches, and Power are to the minds of Men, how suddenly, and strangely they blow them up with contempt of others, and forgetfulness of themselves? And surely the uncertainty of Worldly felicity is very visible in this Great Person, who when he was drunk as it were with all humane happiness, so that he seemed to fear neither God nor Man, was suddenly overtaken by Divine Justice, and brought to utter confusion, when he least dreamt of it: But it was very equitable, that he who would not take example by the wretched Fate of his Favourite Predecessors, should himself be made an Example by the like shameful and ignominious Death.



Remarks on the Life of Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham, Favorite to King Richard the Third.

TWO or three considerable Remarks do naturally result from the following History. 1. That Tyrants being but single Persons could never perpetrate the many mischiefs they are usually guilty of, had they not proper instruments to employ therein. 2. That the pravity of Mankind is so deplorable, that the temptations of Honour and Riches too often prevail upon Men, and ingage them in the most vile and destructive designs. 3. That those who are employed by Tyrants must never boggle at the greatest Villainies, if they be not as thoroughly wicked as the

after he will account them his implacable Enemies, and they are subject to be justly ruined by his unjust and revengeful hand.

All these Maxims seem verified in the Life, Actions, and Fall of this Great Man, *Henry Stafford D. of Buckingham*: He was Son to *Humphrey Stafford* of *Brecknock* shire in *Wales*, who was created Duke of *Buckingham*, and Lord High Constable of *England*, by King *Henry VI.* Being descended from a Daughter of *Thomas of Woodstock*, youngest Son to King *Edward I.* His Son succeeded him in his Titles and Honour, and was a great Favourite to King *Richard III.* and very Instrumental in advancing him to his Usurped throne, as by the following Relation appears.

When King *Edward IV.* died, he left two Sons, *Edward* his Successor of thirteen, and *Richard D. of Gloucester* of eleven years of Age. The Young King and his Brother were by their Father's Will committed to the care of the Earl of Rivers the Queen's Brother, whom he made Protector of the King during his Minority. The Court was at this time kept at *Ludlow* to train the Welsh in obedience, who began to be unruly, and in the mean time the Earl of Rivers disposed of all Offices and Places of Preferment, The Duke of Gloucester upon his Brother's Death posted from the North, to London and finding the Queen and her Kindred had the whole Government of affairs without the King, he was much displeased, as judging a main obstacle to his Usurpation which it seems had long before designed; for it was reported that the very night wherein K. *Edward IV.* died, one *Wesselbrook* came early in the morning to one *Potter* living near *Cripplegate*, and told him, the King was dead. By my Troth man (says *Potter*) then will my master the D. of Gloucester be King, who had he not been acquainted with his Master's Intentions could not have thus spoke. But the Duke knowing the business of such consequence was not to be managed alone, he associated to himself the D. of *Buckingham* and as the Master

Lord High Constable, and the Lord Hastings, L. Chamberlain of England, two of the most powerful Men in the Kingdom; prevailing upon the former by promising him the Earldom of Hereford, and the other being hereby in hopes to be revenged upon his Enemies. So that they joyned with him in Opinion, that it was not necessary the Queens Kindred should so wholly engross the King, and Persons of better Birth and Nobility should be neglected, and they ought to use their Endeavours to remove them.

The young King was now coming toward London with a great Attendance of Lords and their Followers, in order to his Coronation, which the Duke of Gloucester judging to be another rub in his way, since he could not bring about his Purposes without seeming to make an open War; He thereupon sends flattering Letters to the Queen, with zealous Pretences of Loyalty and Service, persuading her to dismiss the great Guards about the King, since it might raise Jealousies in the rest of the Nobility, that her Kindred did not raise these Forces for the security of the King's Person, but for some Sinister Intent, and might cause them to raise a Strength proportionable to encounter them, and so occasion a Civil War in the Kingdom, wherein her Kinsmen would by all the World be judged the Aggressors.

Hereupon the innocent Princess sends positive Order to the King and her Brother to disband their Guards for Reasons best known to her self (without mentioning by whose Advice) which if she had, they would never have done it; but upon the Receipt of these Letters they discharged the Soldiers, and came on with a mean Train, and having passed through Northampton, were proceeding to Stony Stratford, where the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham met them; who pretending the Town was too little for them and their Retinue, they went back to Northampton, where the L. of Rivers had taken up his Quarters for that Night, intending the next Morning to fol-

the King. Several Compliments passed upon their Meeting, and Supper being ended, the two Dukes pretend to retire to rest, and the Earl went to his Lodgings.

The Duke wasted a great part of the Night in consulting with their Friends how to execute their Enterprize, and having got the Keys of the Inn Gate, they suffered none to go in or out, of which E. Rivers having notice, though he suspected Mischief, yet in confidence of his own Innocence, he went boldly into the Dukes Chamber, where he found the Duke of Buckingham and the rest closely contriving their busi-
ness, with whom he expostulated the unreasonableness of their making him a Prisoner; but instead of Reply, they command him to be seized, accusing him of Crimes whereof they themselves were only culpable, and then ride away to the King to Stony Stratford, who was just taking Horse, whom they salute with much seeming Reverence, but presently begin a Quarrel with the Lord Richard Grey, the King's half brother. The D. of Buckingham telling the King, that this Lord, the Marquis of Dorset his Brother, and the Earl Rivers, had contrived and almost effected the ingrossing the Management of all the Affairs of the Kingdom among themselves, which might be of dangerous Consequence, by raising Discontents among the Nobility and People; and that the Marquis had taken out of the Tower of London a great quantity of Money and Arms without Warrant, which might justly be suspected not to be intended for any good End, and it was therefore thought necessary by the Peers that he should be seized at Northampton, to be ready to answer what he should be charged with,

The King not being sensible of their Design, mildly answered, What my Brother Marquis hath done I cannot say, but for my Uncle Rivers and my Brother Grey, I am well satisfied that they are ignorant of any unlawful Practices either against me or you. Oh, says

says the Duke of *Buckingham*, that hath been their Policy to conceal their Treachery from your Grace's Knowledge. And thereupon they instantly, in the King's Presence, seized the Lord *Grey*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hall*, and carried the King with all his Company back to *Northampton*, turning away all his old Officers and Servants, and putting those in their rooms who were under their direction, at which harsh Usage the young King wept, and was much discontented, but without remedy. Yet to colour their Intents, the D. of *Gloucester* being at Dinner, sent a Dish of Meat from his Table to the Lord *Rivers*, bidding him be of good cheer, for in a short time all would be well. The Earl thanking the Duke, desired the Messenger to carry the Dish to the Lord *Richard Grey* with the same Message for his Comfort, as one to whom such Troubles were unusual, but for himself he had been inured to them all his Life, and could the better bear them. But notwithstanding this pretended kindness the Duke of *Gloucester* sent the Earl *Rivers*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Tho. Vaughan* into the North, and afterward to *Pomfret Castle*, where they were all beheaded by his Order without Trial.

The Duke having gotten his Prey into his Clutches, marches with the King toward *London*, declaring to all People in the way, that the Queens Relations had conspired to destroy the King, and all the ancient Nobility, and to subvert the Government, and that they were taken and imprisoned in order to be brought to a legal Trial. And to make it more probable they carried along with them divers Wagons loaden with Arms, with several Chests, which themselves had provided, pretending they were full of Money, which the Conspirators had provided to pay the Forces they designed to raise. But the finest Intreague of all was, that five of the Duke's own Creatures were brought along in Chains, who in every Place where the King lodged were given out to be Persons of

Quality

Quality that had been drawn into this horrid Plot and Treason by the Queens Brother, who being now sensible of their guilt, had confessed the whole of these wicked contrivances. This Pageantry was acted all the way till the King came to London, but then the Actors were discovered, and the Cheat was openly detected.

About midnight of the next day, the Queen had notice of these sorrowful accidents, and now too late repented her being so treacherously imposed upon by the bloody Duke of Gloucester, as to dismiss the Guards about her Son's Person by his instigation, and doubting worse would follow, she with her youngest Son Richard and five Daughters, takes Sanctuary at Westminster, lodging in the Abbot's House there. The Young King having intelligence of these things, with Sighs and Tears express much grief, but the two Dukes made so many Protestations of their fidelity and care of his safety that they seemed to wonder at his being any way concerned.

Soon after, the Lord Hastings sent a Messenger to the A. B. of York, then Lord Chancellor to signify to him, that he need not be disturbed at what happened, assuring him that in a little while all would be well again. I am sure, replied the Archbishop, Let it be as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have seen it. And presently after, the Archbishop attended by all his Servants armed, in the midst of the Night came to the distressed Queen, whom he found sitting alone upon a heap of Rushes, much disconsolate and in Tears, whom he endeavoured to comfort by telling her, That he had good hopes the matter would not be so bad as she suspected, the Lord Hastings having by a Messenger sent on purpose, assured him that all would end well. Ah wretch ! quoth the Queen, that man is one of those who endeavour to ruin me and my Family: Madam quoth the Bishop, pray be pacified, for I will ingage that if they dare presume to Crown any but our Sop whom they now have with them, the next day

we will Crown his Brother who is here with you. And Madam, I here deliver you the Great Seal which was committed to me by that Noble Prince your Husband, and which I resign to you, only for the use and benefit of your Son. But in his way home he observed the River of Thames full of Boates, with the Duke of Gloucester's Servants, watching to prevent any from going into Sanctuary without being first examined.

These proceedings were distastful to many of the Nobility and Citizens, doubting all this was intended against the King's Person, and to prevent his Coronation. Whereupon they went armed, and met together to consult of the common safety. But the Lords of the Council being assembled, the A. B. of York fearing he should be charged with want of understanding for delivering the Great Seal to the Queen, without the King or Council's leave, he privately sent for it again, which being returned, he brought it as usually into Council. The L. Hastings, whose fidelity to the King was real, assured the Lords that the D. of Gloucester was faithful and loyal to his Prince, and that the L. Rivers and L. Richard with the other Knights were secured for some secret practices against the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and that the King should receive no damage thereby, and they should be Prisoners but till the whole was examined before the King and Council. And advised the Lords not to judge of it before they had heard it, nor to turn their private quarrels into publick contentions, and thereby disturb the King's Coronation, which might be of worse consequence than they could at present imagine. For the Dukes were now coming to London to that purpose, and if the Lords should take up Arms to oppose them, they would be counted Rebels. Since having the King in their Hands they would pretend his Authority to declare them so to be. By these means, some of which he knew to be true, and not, but chiefly by the near approach of the Dukes to the City, these commotions were pacified.

The

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs with 500 Horse went as far as Hornsey to wait upon the King and attended him to London, where he arrived May, 4. 1483. and was Lodged in the Bishop's Palace: A great Council was then held, and the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, with the rest of the Lords present, swore Allegiance to the King, and the Duke of Gloucester carried himself so respectfully to him, that all the former jealousies of him vanished, and he gained such reputation with the Council; that by, their general consent he was chosen Protector of the King and Kingdom. And thus was the Innocent Lamb delivered into the Custody of the Ravenous Wolf: The Council severely check'd the A. B. of York for so inconsiderately delivering the Great Seal to the Queen, which was now taken from him, and given to Dr. Russill B. of Lincoln, one of the Honestest and Learnedst Men of that Time: Several Knights and Gentlemen had Places bestowed upon them; but the Lord Hastings kept his Office of Lord Chamberlain as formerly, and so did divers others.

The D. of Gloucester knowing he could not finish his mischevious purposes, without having the D. of York in his hands; for without them both he was as good have had neither, therefore as his actions had made the King Melancholly, he now pretends that he ought to have his Brother's company to make him merry; and represented to the Lords of the Council that it was a very heinous crime in the Queen to keep the King's Brother in Sanctuary, and not to let them come together and take pleasure in each others conversation. That it might occasion the People to have ill thoughts of the King's Councillors, since the Queen durst not trust her Youngest Son in the hands of those who were appointed by the Peers of the Realm to have the Guardianship of the King's Royal Person, whose duty and office consisted not only in preserving him from all Danger, but in procuring for him such recreations as were suitable to his Youth and

and Dignity, which he could not enjoy so properly in the company of any as of his own Dear Brother: and advised, that the A. B. of York might be sent to persuade the Queen to deliver her Son out of Sanctuary, which would be so much to the advantage of the Young Duke the King's most Noble Brother, and his most Dear Nephew, and might prevent any sinister thoughts of the People, concerning the Nobility and Council. But if she continued obstinate, and would not hearken to the Archbishop's Council that then by the King's Authority he should be forcibly taken from her, and brought to his Royal presence where he should be so honourably treated, that the World should be convinced it was only the malice, frowardness, and folly of his Mother which occasioned his being kept in Prison so long already.

Upon his subtil Speech the Council concluded the motion to be reasonable: as well as comfortable and honourable both to the King and his Brother, and would prevent Evil surmises, provided the Queen could be induced quietly to deliver him. The A. B. undertook to use his endeavours to incline her to it, but added, if she persisted in refusing it, he thought it was not to be attempted against her will, for it would turn highly to the dishonour of God, and the displeasure of the People if the privilege of that Holy place should be broken, which had so many Years been inviolably preserved, which so many good Kings and Princes had confirmed, and which Holy Ground was 500 Years ago by St. Peter in his own Person accompanied with great numbers of Angels by Night, so miraculously hallowed and Dedicated to God; for proof whereof they had St. Peter's Copy in Westminster Abbey to show; and from that time there was never any King so indevote and prophan as to violate that Sacred place, nor any Bishop so Holy that durst presume to Consecrate it; and therefore God forbid says he that any Man for any Earthly thing should presume to break the Priviledge

lege of that Sanctuary, and I hope in God I shall not need to fear it, for my utmost Endeavours shall not be wanting. The other Bishops and Clergy in the Council were of the same opinion, that no Violence ought to be used toward the Queen, or that Sacred Place. The Archbishop added, But my Honourable Lords, If the Mothers fears, or Womanish dread render my Message ineffectual, I hope I shall receive no Prejudice in your Judgments thereby.

The Duke of Buckingham then made a large Harangue, to shew the Expediency and Reasonableness of taking the Young Duke out of Sanctuary by force, if his Mother should refuse to deliver him, and the Council not having the least Suspicion of any Treachery were of the same Opinion, resolving to sit in the Star Chamber till the Archbishops return, who with divers other Lords went to the Queen in Sanctuary, both out of respect to her, and to shew by their number, that the Council were unanimous in the Message that was sent her: And some say the Protector had several of his Creatures among them, who had private Instructions to seize him by force, and bring him away if his Mother should persist in her denial, thereby to prevent her from conveying him to a Place of more Security.

When they came into the Queens Presence, the Archbishop acquainted her that the Protector and all the Council had, upon mature deliberation concluded, that the detaining the King's Brother in Sanctuary, might occasion strange Surmises among the People, and seemed scandalous to them, as well as grievous to his Majesty, to whom the Presence of his dear Brother must needs be as delightful, as the keeping them apart was dishonourable to her and her Kindred, as though one Brother were in danger of another: That the Council had sent him and the rest to require her delivery of him; so that he might at full liberty continue with the King his Brother, and be attended according to his High Birth and Quality, which

which would tend to the quiet of the Realm, be pleasing to the Council and advantagious to her self, as well as her Friends now in trouble: And above all (quoth the Archbishop) and what I suppose you desire beyond all, it will not only be comfortable to the King, but to the Young Duke himself, whose happiness it will be to partake in those Princely Recreations which are suitable to their Dignity, and which they cannot so properly have in the Company of any other. For the Protector esteems it necessary that the Minds of the Young Princes should for their Healths be refreshed with Diversions proper for their Age and Quality.

My Lord (replied the Queen) I will not deny but it may be convenient that this young Gentleman were in the Company of the King his Brother, and in truth I think it might be as necessary, that for a while yet, they were both in the Custody and Company of their Mother, their tender age considered, bat especially the younger, who besides his Childhood hath been lately visited with a severe Sickness, and is not yet recovered; so that it's fit he should be carefully attended, and that Charge I will commit to no Person upon Earth, but resolute to make it my own business, considering the Physicians tell us, a Relapse is more dangerous than the first Sickness, for Nature being before weakened, is less able to endure a second Combate, and though it may be others might use their best Skill and diligence about him, yet none knows so well how to order him as my self, who have so long been with him, nor can any be so tender of him as his own Mother that bore him.

None can deny, quoth the Archbishop, but that your Grace is of all Persons the most proper about your Children, and the Council would be glad that you would take care of them, if you please to do it in a Place convenient and honourable, but if you design to continue here, they think it more proper that the Duke should be with the King at Liberty and

and in Honour, to the comfort of them both, than
to live here as a ~~Sanctuary~~ Man, to their high dishon-
our. Since it is not always necessary the Child
should be with his Mother, but on the contrary that
they be separated. And of this there is a late In-
stance, that when your dearest Son the Prince, and
now King, did for his Honour and the Security of
the Country reside at *Ludlow* in Wales far distant
from your Grace, yet you seemed well contented :
Nor so well contented neither, said the Queen, but
the case is not now the same, for that Son was then
in health, and this is now sick, and therefore I much
wonder that my L. Protector should be so desirous to
have him in his Company, since if the Child should
happen to miscarry he will be suspected of having
used foul Play toward him. Neither can I but ad-
mire that the Council should think it so dishonoura-
ble for him to be here, when none can doubt but he
will be in safety while I am with him, and where,
by the Grace of God, I intend to continue, and not
to bring my self into the danger my Kindred are in,
whom I wish to be here with me in Security. Why
Madam, said one of the Lords, do you know that
your Kindred are in danger. No verily Sir, said
she, nor why they are wrongfully imprisoned, but I
shall not marvel if those who have thus illegally con-
fined them without Reason, should proceed to destroy
them without Cause. The Archbishop bid him for-
bear such Discourse, and told her, that he did not
doubt but the Lords in Custody would be quickly at
liberty, if nothing could be proved against them ;
and that her own Person could not be in any Peril.
The Queen replied, What reason have I to believe
that, since my Kindred are as innocent as my self,
and all the Malice against us is, because we are so
near akin to the King. As for the Gentleman, my
son, I intend he shall be where I am till I see farther ;
or I assure you, the more earnest I see some Men to
have him away without any real ground, the more I
dread

dread to part with him. And truly Madam, quoth the Archbishop, the more loth you are to part with him, the more afraid are other Men that you should convey him away; and therefore since he can have no Privilege that does not ask it, nor for any Fault can want it, they will think it no breach of Privilege to take him from you by force.

Ah Sir, quoth the Queen, hath the Protector so much love and tenderness for him, that he only fears he should escape him. Alas whither should I send him if he be not safe in this Sanctuary, the Privilege whereof there was never any Tyrant so wicked or Devilish to break; But it seems my Son deserves no Sanctuary, and therefore cannot have it: What, is this a Place of Security for a Thief, and not for an Infant? But he is in no danger, say they: I would to God he were not. I wish the Protector may prove a Protector to him, but the Matter is plain, he hath one Son already in his Hands, and could he get the other, and destroy them both, he would then usurp the Crown. I shall give no other Account why I have such a Fear, but only what the Law gives, which as Learned Men tell me, forbids any Man to have the Custody of one, by whose Death he may inherit far less than a Kingdom. I shall say no more, but that whosoever breaketh this holy Sanctuary, I paay God he may soon have need of one, but not enjoy it.

The Queen proceeded in severe Reflections upon the Protector's Designs, which the Archbishop did not then believe, and was loth to hear; but told her in short, That if she would deliver her Son to him and the rest, he durst pawn his Soul and Body for his Safety; but if not, he much doubted she would be obliged to do it against her will, and that he would never move her any more in that Matter. These Words made the Queen stand silent, and considering she had no time or Place to secure him from them, the Sanctuary being strongly guarded, and believed

the Archbishop and some of the Lords were good Men, and would not see her Child wronged, and finally, that if the Protector was resolved to have him, he would scruple at nothing to compass his Ends; she took the young Duke by the Hand, and said, My Lords, I neither mistrust your Prudence, nor am jealous of you Faithfulness, of which I now give you a convincing Proof, and wherein if I should be mistaken it would be a very great affliction to me, and would bring much Mischief to the Realm, and eternal Reproach upon your selves. For behold here is the Gentleman you require, whom I doubt not but I could have kept safe in this Place, whatever is alledged to the contrary. Though I do not question but I have some such deadly Enemies to my Family, that if they thought they had a drop of it in their own Bodies, they would let it out. For we have had many Examples that the ambition of Sovereignty makes void all ties of Kindred and Alliance; for this cause Brothers have been the ruin of Brothers, and may the Nephews find better usage from their Uncle. While these Children are apart, the Life of one is a defence to the other, and their Safety consists in each others Welfare. Keep one safe, and that will secure the other, but nothing is more dangerous than that they should be in one Place; for no wise Merchant will venture all his Estate in one Ship. But however, here I deliver him, and his Brother in him, into your Hands, of whom I shall require them both, in the sight of God and the World. I know very well that you are both Just and Wise, and that you want neither Will nor Power to preserve them, if you think otherwise pray leave him with me. But one thing I earnestly recommend to you, to be very cautious, lest while you count me too fearful, you your selves be not too fearless and secure.

Then turning to the Child, Come my sweet Son said she, let me kiss you before you go, for God knows whether ever we shall kiss one another again, to

to whose holy protection I commit you. Having Kissed and Blessed him she turned aside and wept, and then went away, leaving the Child weeping as fast as she. The Lords having received the Duke brought him to the Council; as soon as he entered the room, the Protector rises up and takes him in his Arms, Kissing and Embracing him, saying, Dear Nephew, you are welcome with all my heart, for next to my Sovereign Lord your Brother, nothing gives me so much contentment as your presence. Wherein it was thought he did not dissemble, having now got the prize he so much desired. Soon after upon pretence of removing the two Princes into a place of more security, till the Peoples minds were settled, the Protector caused them to be carried in great State through London to the Tower, there to continue till the Coronation, from whence they never after came abroad.

The Protector now began more openly to prosecute his designs, but the work being great, he must make use of Great men in it, and at that time none was more potent than the Duke of Buckingham. Some write he was privy to all the contrivances of the Duke, from the death of K. Edward IV. Others thought the Protector never durst discover a matter of such consequence to him, and that he employed some cunning People to insinuate into the Duke that the young King had a secret hatred to him for being accessory to the Imprisonment of his Kindred, and if he were ever in a capacity would revenge it upon him, for if they should be again at liberty to be sure they would incite him to it, and if they should be put to death, this would the more irrage the King against him. That there was no way for the Duke to retreat, or make his Peace with the King, since the King himself with his Brother and Kindred were now in such safe custody that the Protector with a word of his Mouth could destroy them all, and him also, if he found him fall off from his Interest.

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Though the Duke might be troubled at what he had done, yet being sensible of the Protector's cruelty, and his own danger, he resolved to join with him in all his trayterous enterpaizes, and so it was agreed between them, that the Duke should affist the Protector to advance him to the Crown. In recompence of which service, the Protector's only Son and Heir should marry the Duke's Daughter, and have the Earldom of Hereford settled upon him and his Successors, which he had claimed as his Inheritance from Edward IV. but could never obtain it. He also promised the Duke a large sum of the King's Money, and a great quantity of his Houshold-stuff

Having entered into his cursed combination, to delude the People they pretend to make great preparations for Crowning the young King, all the Lords of the Council being summoned to appear in the Tower. But the Protector being sensible that the L Hastings would be a great obftacle in his way, because of his fidelity to his old Master K. Edward's Sons, he resolved to be rid of him; and coming into Council, complimented all the Lords, seeming more than ordinarily merry, and after some other discourses, My Lord, says he to the B. of Ely, I hear you have very good *Strawberries* in your Garden in Holbourn, pray let us have a dish of them: With all my hart replied, the Bishop, and sent for some, The Protector then rose hastily up, desiring them to excuse his absence for a while, and returned about an hour after, extreamly disturbed and changed in his countenance, uttering so many grievous sighs, and using such passionate gestures that the Lords admired at the cause thereof. He knit his Brows, and bit his Lips, and after long silence, to prepare their attentions, he asks confusedly, what punishment they deserved who had contrived the destruction of him who was so near allied to the King and Protector of his Person and Kingdom. At this question the Lords were all amazed and sate looking upon each other without

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without speaking a word, at length the L. Hastings (by the instigation of the D. of Buckingham) per-
fuming upon his intimacy with the Protector, re-
plied, That whoever they were, they deserved to be
punished as Traytors, to which the other Lords
assented. Whereat the Protector rising up, Why it
is, says he, that old Sorceress my Brother Edward's
Widow, and her Partner that common Whore, Jane
Shore, that have by Witchcraft and Inchantment,
contrived to take away my life. And though by
God's Mercy they have not been able to finish their
Villany, yet see the mischief they have done me,
for behold (and then he shewed his left Arm) how
they have caused this dear Limb of mine to wither
and grow useless, and my whole body had been in
the same miserable plight if they had executed their
Will upon me. The Lords who knew the virtue of
the Queen, and that his Arm had been always with-
ered from his birth, found it a false pretence, but
were so astonish'd at his confidence that they durst
not utter a word, till the L. Hastings (thinking to
lay all the fault upon the Queen, and excuse Jane
Shore whom he had taken for his Mistress ever since
K. Edward's death, and from whom he had risen
that Morning) submissively answered, If the Queen
have conspired— which he had no sooner said, but
the Protector looking fiercely upon him, What, says
he in a great rage, dost thou tell me of If's and And's,
I tell thee they and none but they have done it, and
thou art Confederate with them in their Villany.
Who I, my Lord? quoth he; Yea thou Traytor,
says the Protector, and therewith striking a sound
blow with his hand upon the Table, Treason was cri-
ed in the next room, and a great number of armed
men came rushing in as if to guard the Protector,
one of whom with a blow of a Pole-axe, wounded
the L. Stanley in the Head, and had kill'd him, but
that he sunk under the Table. The rest of the Ccuncil
were seized, and secured in several Rooras. The
Lord

Lord *Hastings* the Protector charged with High Treason, and wished him to make baste and Confess himself, swearing by St. Paul, (his usual Oath) that he would neither eat nor drinck till his Head were off: It signified nothing to ask a reason, for he knew the Protector would give none; so he was carried to the Green, in the Tower where his Head was laid upon a peice of Timber, and struck off.

In the Tragical End of this Lord, we may observe how inevitable the Strokes of Destiny are, for the very Night before, the L. Stanley sent a secret Message at Midnight, to inform him of a Dream he had, in which he thought that a Boar with his Tusks had so goared them by the Heads, that the Blood ran about their Ears, and because the Protector gave the Boar for his Arms, this Dream had made so dreadful an Impression upon his Mind, that he resolved not to stay any longer, and had his Horse ready, requiring the L. *Hastings* to go along with him; and to ride so fast as to be out of danger before Morning. But the L. *Hastings* returned this Answer by the Messenger: Ah, good Lord! Hath thy Master such faith in Dreams, which either proceed from fancy or the Fboughts of the preceeding Day; but if they foretell things to come, why may they not presage that if we run away and should be taken, then the Boar might have reason to use us ill: So command me to thy Master, and bid him be merry and fear nothing, for I am as sure of the Man he wotteth of, as I am of my own Right Hand, meaning one *Catesby* a Lawyer, who was at first advanced by his Favour, and now grown so intimate with the Protector, that he did not doubt but he would discover any ill design against him. But he was much mistaken, for he was the first Man that advised the taking off the L. *Hastings*: Likewise the same Morning his Horse stumbled twice or thrice almost to falling, which, though it often happen by chance, yet has been sometimes reckoned a token of Misfortune. More-

over, at the same time coming to Tower-Wharf, he there met a Pursivant of his own Name, which made him recal what had happened to him some time before in that Place ; for he was accused by the L. Rivers in Edward IV. Reign, of some Crimes which for a time cast him out of the King's Favour, and indangered his Life, but was after restored again to Grace.

Now seeing this Man, Ah Hastings, quoth the Lord, the last time I met thee here it was with a heavy Heart : Yes my Lord, said the Pursivant, but thanks be to God your Enemies gained nothing, nor had your Lordship any damage thereby, and now the danger is over : Thou wouldest say so indeed, said the Lord, if thou knewest as much as I do, for the World is well changed now, and my Enemies are in greater danger, as thou mayst happen to hear in a few days ; (meaning the L. Rivers and others of the Queens Kindred, who were that very day secretly ordered to be beheaded at Pomfret-Castle, of which he had knowledge) and I was never merrier, nor in more Safety since I was born. So that there is no greater sign of ill Fortune than to be too secure, and Men are oft blind to their own Fate, and though the Ax hangs over their Heads, yet are not sensible of it, but are most in danger when they think themselves most safe. For this Lord, notwithstanding his great Confidence, lost his Head two Hours after he spoke these Words.

The same Morning, as he was going to the Tower, a Knight who pretended kindness to him, but was thought to be privy to the Protector's Design, and was sent to meet and hasten him thither, offered to Accompany him. The L. Hastings staid by the way in Tower-Street, to discourse with a Priest ; the Knight interrupted their talk, saying, Pray my Lord, make haste, you have no need of a Priest yet, seeming to be in jest, but it was thought meant in earnest that he would in a short time have occasion for one.

The news of the death of the L. *Hastings* soon flew into the City, and much surprized the People, but the Protector, to prevent any Commotion, sent for several of the principal Citizens; himself, with the D. of *Buckingham* receiving them in old rusty Armour, and declared to them, That the L. *Hastings* and other **Conspirators** had contrived to have slain him and the Duke of *Buckingham* in Council, and then to have taken upon them to govern the King and Kingdom at their Pleasure, which Treason they had discovered but few Hours before it should have been acted; so that their sudden fear had caused them to put on such Armour as they first met with, but that God had so far prevented their Traiterous Purposes, as some had already received their Deserts. The Citizens seemed to believe what he laid, though they all knew nothing was more false. Presently after a Proclamation was published, reciting the aforesnamed Particulars, and adding several reflections upon the L. *Hastings*, as that he was an Evil Councillour to K. *Edward IV.* Advising him to do many things to his great Dishonour, and the damage of the Kingdom, and living a lewd life with Shore's Wife who was one of the principal **Conspirators**, with whom he had converst the very last night, and that it was no wonder if such a wicked course had brought him to an untimely Death, being condemned by the King and his Honourable Privy Council, before whom he was clearly Convicted to have contrived this horrid Treason, and whose sudden Execution according to his demerits, they hoped would prevent the other **Conspirators** from proceeding in their Traiterous purposes, and secure the Peace of the Nation.

This was published within two hours after the L. *Hastings* was Bedeaded, and was so exactly Penn'd and fairly Written in Parchment, and withal so large, that all the World perceived it had been prepared long before, so that the School Master of St. Pauls at the Proclaiming it said, *Here is a gay goodly cast,* fou

*foul cast away for hast, To whom a Merchant An-
wered; That it was written by Prophesie, or Revelation*

After this the Protector, like an Innocent, content Prince, sent the Sheriffs of London to *Jas Shore's House*, (who lived from her Husband) with an order to seize all her Goods, which they did to the value of two or 3000 Marks, and committed her to Prison: He charging her with bewitching him, and with conspiring with the *L. Hastings*, to destroy him but having no proof he gravely accused her of what all the Kingdom knew before, and she her self could not deny, that she was Unchaste of her Body, which made Men smile that it should be now told as ne, and caused the B. of London to put her to open Penance for Incontinency, and the next Sunday she was brought out of Ludgate, going before a Cross in Procession, with a Wax Taper in her hand, although then in mean Apparel, yet she appeared fair and lovely, the crowd of Spectators raising comely blush in her Cheeks, and withal so modest and sober, that those that hated her vicious life, and were glad to see Sis punished, yet pitied her hard usag from him, who inflicted it for wicked and politic ends, and not out of love to Virtue, or Chastity.

This Woman was a notable instance of the mutability of Fortune; she was born in London, of good Family and very well Married to one *Shore*, worthy Citizen and Goldsmith, but it was though a little too Young; so that she never shewed much affection to her Husband, whom she was scarce capable of loving, which might incline her the sooner to embrace K. *Edward's* Kindness: Which being attended with Honour, Riches, Fine Cloaths, Ease, Pleasure, and all other humane delights, was hardly to be resisted by such a tender heart as she had: When the King had taken her for his Mistriss, her Husband wholly abandoned her Bed: After his Death the *L. Hastings*, who had an extream passion for her during the King's Life, but either out of respect, or faithful

ess forbore Courting her, now took her home to his House, and maintained her in great Splendor: he was very fair, and nothing amiss in her whole Body, but thought not tall enough, as some report who knew her in her Youth, (saith Sir Thomas More) but now she is Old, saith he, who saw her, she is lean, withered, and her Skin so extreamly shrivelled, that it is scarce to be imagined so much Beauty ever resided in that wretched Carcass. Yet she was not more admired for her handsomeness, than for her ready Wit, and brisk Temper; neither too full nor too sparing in Discourse, jesting oft without abuse, but very pleasantly, so that her Company was extream entertaining. K. Edward used to say he had three Concubines, who were excellent for three different Qualities; one being the merriest, another the most subtile, and the third the most devout Harlot in the World, who when sent for to his Bed, was usually at Prayers upon her Knees in the Church; the other two were Persons of greater Quality, but Jane Shore was the merriest, and therefore the King took much delight in her Conversation; for though he had many Mistresses, yet he may be said only to love her, and to say the truth, she never abused his Kindness to the detriment of any, but to the relief of very many, appeasing the King's Anger toward some, getting abatement of Fines, restoring others to favour, dispatching their Suits and Affairs, and all for little or no Reward; Valuing any thing that was fine or pretty above great Sums of Money, being contented either with the Pleasure of doing Kindness, or of being petitioned to for them, to shew what Power she had with the King; or lastly, because wanton Women are not always covetous. It may be thought, says Sir T. More, That this Woman is too slight a Subject among Matters of greater Consequence, but to me she seems worthy of Remark, that she should now be a miserable Beggar, without Friends or Money, but what she gets by Charity,

who was formerly in such great favour with a renowned Prince, was adored by the Courtiers, and addressed to by Persons of the highest Quality, for expediting their business, as much as the greatest Favourite of this Age: Had abundance of Money and all other Goods of Fortune; and yet should become so wretched a Creature as to beg of those living, that must have begged themselves, if it had not been for her kindness toward them.

To proceed: It was contrived by the Protector, the D. of *Buckingham* and the other bloody Counsellors, that the very day the L. *Hastings* was beheaded in the Tower, and at the very same hour, he himself consenting to it, the L. *Rivers* and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at *Northampton*, should be beheaded at *Pomfret*, which was done in the Presence, and by the order of Sir R. *Ratcliff*, whose Service the Protector much used in these Affairs, he being malicious, cruel, and fit for any mischievous Design; who bringing them out of Prison to the Secaffold, and telling the People they were *Traytors*, not suffering them to declare their Innocence, lest their Words should procure Pity, and Hatred to the Protector, he caused them hastily, without Tryal, Witnesses, Sentence, or any Legal Process, to be beheaded, only because they were Loyal to the King, and too near akin to the Queen his Mother.

These Noblemen being dispatched, the Protector now resolved to advance himself to the Crown, whilst the Peers and People being terrified at these Proceedings, durst not interpose to hinder him: But because the Matter would seem odious, he and his wicked Council proposed several ways. Among the rest they thought it necessary to bring in E. *Shaw*, then Lord Mayor of *London* who, upon promise of Advance-
ment, should prepare the People's Inclinations; and because Clergy-men are hearkned to in Matters of Conscience, Doctor *Shaw*, his Brother, and Doctor

Pink

Pinke are likewise engaged in the Affair, both great Preachers, but of more Fame than Learning, having a notable Estimation among the Vulgar. These two were appointed to preach, the one at *Paul's-Cross*, and the other at the *Spittle*, and to display the excellent Qualities of the Protector: *Pinke* in his Sermon so lost his Voice, that he was forced to break off, and come down in the midst; and *Shaw* by his Sermon lost his Reputation, and soon after his Life, being so ashamed, that he never after came abroad. But the next Perplexity was to get some plausible Pretence for deposing the Young King, and advancing his Uncle: At length it was concluded to alledge Bastardy, either in K. *Edward IV.* himself, or in his Children, or both: To lay Bastardy publickly to K. *Edward*, would reflect upon the Reputation of the Mother both of his Brother and himself, which the Protector ordered to be handled tenderly, but the Bastardy of the Children he would have boldly asserted, and to ground their Allegations upon the following Pretext.

After K. *Edward IV.* had deposed K. *Henry VI.* he determined to marry, and R. *Nevil*, the Great, Earl of *Warwick*, is sent to *France* to treat of a Marriage between the King and the Lady *Bona*, Daughter to *Lewis D. of Savoy*, and Sister to *Carlote* then Queen of *France*: The Proposition is readily imbraced in *France* and the Match concluded. In the mean time K. *Edward* being Hunting in *Wichwood Forrest* near *Stony Stratford*, happened to come to the Manour of *Grafton*, where the Dutches of *Bedford* then lay, and where her Daughter, by Sir R. *Woodvile*, called the Lady *Eliz. Gray* (Widow of Sir *J. Gray of Groby*, Slain in the Battle of *St. Albans*,) came to Petition the King for some Lands, of which her Husband had made her a Jointute: With whose Beauty the King was so surprized, that he fell to Courting her. The Lady perceiving his Intent, told him plainly, That as she thought her self not worthy to be his

Wife, so she esteemed her self too good to be his Concubine. The K. who seldom was denied such favours, his handsomeness and dignity making him acceptable to most Ladies, so much admired her Virtue that he resolved to Marry her. Which his Mother having notice of endeavoured to prevent, telling him, That it would be both honourable and safe to Marry some Great Princess, and thereby strengthen his Government by Potent Alliances. That it was below him to Marry his own Subject, and especially a Widow that had Children, he being a Young Man and a Batchellor. Lastly, that he was already Contracted to the Lady *Eliz. Lucy.* The King Answered, That as to Honour and Alliances they might bring more trouble than profit; and whereas you object Madam, (says he) that the Lady is a Widow and has Children, By God's Blessed Lady, I am a Batchellor, and have some Children too, and so we have both proof that we are not like to be Barren, and for your alledging that I am already Contracted to the Lady *Lucy*: Let the Bishop, saith he, charge me with it when I come to take Orders, for tho' it is forbidden to a Priest, iey I never heard it was prohibited to a Prince; and soon after he Married the Lady *Grey.*

Upon this Pretext the Protector would found the Bastardy of K. *Edward's* Children. That he had been formerly Contracted to the Lady *Lucy*, though the Lady her self upon Examination, acknowledged she had a Child by him, but denied there was any Contract between them. However Doctor *Shaw* took for his Text, *Bastard Plants shall take no deep root*, and declared that K. *Edward* was never Lawfully Married to the Queen, but was before God Husband to the Lady *Lucy*, and so his Children were Bastards, addiug, that those in the Family had great jealousy that neither K. *Edward IV.* himself, nor his Brother the D. of *Clarence*, were begotten by his Father, they much resembling other Persons in Court that were

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were well known, but that the Noble Prince *Richard*, Lord Protector, had the very Lineaments, Complexion, and Countenance, as well as the Courage, and Magnanimity of the Renowned *Richard D. of York*, his Father. Now it was contrived, that at the uttering these words the Protector should appear to the People, that the Preacher's words, and his presence thus corresponding, it might be thought he had spoke them by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. But this trick failed, for either by the Protector's delay in coming, or the Doctor's haste in Preaching, he had proceeded upon other matters: At length observing the Protector was coming, he without order or reason, diverted from what he was upon, and began to repeat the same words again. *This is that Noble Prencie, the Father's own Picture his own Face, and the express Image of his Father's Person.* In the meantime the Protector with the D. of Buckingham, pressed through the crowd to the Pulpit, and there sat to hear the Sermon. But the People were so far from crying out, *God save King Richard*, as was expected, That they cried shame on the Preacher, for abusing his Calling to such vile purposes.

The D. of Buckingham with divers Lords and Knights came afterward to Guildhall and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commoners being their assembled, the Duke made a long Speech to this effect. That the Lord Protector and the rest of the noble Peers were come to acquaint the worthy Citizens with a matter of great consequence, and which they did not doubt would be very acceptable to them. A matter they had long in vain desired, and which was absolutely necessary to their welfare and happiness, even the future security of their Lives, Wives' Children and Estates, which had been all indangered by the ill government of the late K. Edward IV. who by tricks and shams endangered their Lives, and by unreasonable Taxes, and Pollings to maintain his Prodigality, wasted their Estates and what people he respected most appeared by his favours to Shore's

Wife, who in his Reign was more sought unto, and managed greater affairs by her influence over his vain mind, than the greatest Peer in England, whereby he raised the hatred and ill will of the People both against himself and his Children. He then reminded them of the Doctor's Sermon the last Sunday, who being a Preacher of God's Word, had by his God's Authority declared the just Right and Title of the Protector to the Crown of this Realm, which he doubted not but they would regard, (considering the honesty and wisdom of the Preacher) beyond what he could say to them, he having so clearly proved that K. Edward was before Married to the Lady Lucy, and that therefore his Children by the Lady Gray cannot be Legitimate, so that for want of lawful Issue, that L. Richard had an undoubted Right and Title to the Crown, by whose Renowned Virtues and Valour he did not doubt but the Kingdom would enjoy all happiness, and be freed from that woe which the Wise Man pronounces that Nation to be subject to, *whose King is a Child.* All which the Lords of the Council having taken into consideration, had thereupon agreed to accept of him for their King. *And now (said the Duke) I am come to acquaint you with it, and to require your consents, which I do not doubt but for your own benefit you will readily give in electing so worthy a Prince, and thereby oblige his Majesty who will be kind to those who are most Zealous for his advancement to the Throne.*

Having ended his Oration, the People stood mute, as admiring at the motion, but none cried K. Richard, L. Richard, as was expected. At which the Duke being amazed, supposing the L. Mayor had before informed and prepared the Common Hall, he whispered to him to know the meaning of this fallen Silence. Who answered, that it may be they did not hear, what he had said. So the Duke repeated the same words, more audibly and earnestly, but this obstinate silence still continued. He then desired that the Recorder, who usually spoke to the People, might move them

them in it. But he being an honest man, and newly come to his Office, repeated the Duke's words only, without adding any of his own, which nothing prevailed upon their resolved sullenness. At last the Duke told them plainly, That all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were determined to chuse the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir, and that it was only out of respect and kindness to the Citizens that they had acquainted them with it, desiring them freely to speak whether they would join with them in this Election or No. Upon this some of the Duke's Servants, and others planted on purpose at the lower end of the Hall threw up their Caps and shouted aloud K. Richard, K. Richard, while the Citizens stood murmuring and inquiring among themselves what the meaning of it was.

However the Duke took the Advantage of it, as of an unanimous consent. A goodly Cry, quoth he: Giving them all thanks for their universal Approbation, promising he would acquaint the Protector with their great kindness toward him, requiring the Lord Mayor and Citizens to meet him the next Morning at Baynard's-Castle. Being met accordingly, the D. of Buckingham sends up word to the Protector, that the Lord Mayor and his Brethren were come to present a Supplication to him, in a Matter of great Consequence. The Protector, though pre-acquainted with the Matter, yet pretended to admire what the business should be, and though he did suspect no ill from any thing which the Duke should offer, yet desired some hint of what it might be. It was answered, That the business was to be communicated only to himself in Person, and they humbly desired to be admitted into his Presence: Hereupon, as if not well assured of their Intent, he appears in the Gallery to prevent any Sinister Practice against him. The Duke with great reverence tells him, That he hoped his Highness would pardon him in what he was going

to declare in the behalf of the Mayor and Nobility there present; and after many Circumstances, proceeds to discover the Cause of their coming, That in regard of the urgent Necessities of the Commonwealth, they humbly intreated him to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom in his own Right, to whom they all tendered their Allegiance: At which word the Protector started back as if extremely surprised, and passionately replied. *I little thought, good Cousin, that you of all Men would have moved me in a Matter, which of all things in the World I must decline!* Far be it from me to accept of that, which without apparent wrong to the Children of my dear deceased Brother, and my own upright Conscience, I cannot well approve of; and pretending to proceed in this dissembling Harangue, the Duke seemed abruptly upon his Knees to stop him. Since your Grace, says he, has been pleased to give liberty to offer in the Name of this Great Assembly the free tender of their Obedience to you, I must further add, That it is unanimously concluded, that your late Brother K. Edward's Children, as being generally known to be Illegitimate, shall never be admitted to the Crown of England; and if your Grace shall neither regard your self nor us so far as to accept of it we are fully determined to confer it upon some other of the House of Lancaster, that will be more sensible of his own and our good.

These Words seemed to have such a powerful Effect upon the Protector's Mind, that with a feigned perturbation he replied. Since I perceive the whole Kingdom are resolved by no means to admit my dear Nephews, being but Children, to Reign over them, and since the Right of Succession justly belongs to me as the undoubted Heir of Rich. Plantaginet, Duke of York, my Renowned Father: We are contented to condescend to your Importunities, and to accept the Regal Government of the Kingdom; and will to the utmost of my Power endeavour to maintain the Quiet and Welfare thereof. After this he came down from the Gallery, and formally saluted them

them all, which so pleased the giddy Mobile, that they shouted out, *Long live K. Richard our Dread Sovereign Lord*, and so every Man departed. Having thus usurped the Sovereignty, he was soon after Crowned; Creating his Son *Edward*, a Child of 10 years old, Prince of Wales; advancing several of the Nobility to higher Honours, and dignifying others. And to shew his Clemency, several whom he suspected would have hindred his Proceedings, and had been imprisoned, were now released; but *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, who would never consent to the disinheriting K. *Edward*'s Children, was committed to the Custody of the D. of *Buckingham*, who secured him in his Castle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*.

And now K. *Richard* with his Queen (the Lady *Ann*, Youngest Daughter of the Great Earl of *Warwick*, and Widow of Prince *Edward*, Son to King *Henry VI.*) whom he had newly married, made a Progress to *Glocester*, upon pretence of visiting the place of his former Honour: But in truth to be absent while he had a special villany to be acted. For though he had satisfied his Ambition, by depriving his Nephews of their Rights, yet he could not remove his fears without taking away their Lives: To perpetrate this Villany he durst not use the assistance of his old Friend and Favourite the D. of *Buckingham*, as being sensible of his abhorrence thereof. However it was too easie to find wicked Instruments for Money, and upon inquiry, he heard of one in his Court, named Sir *James Tyrrel*, of an ambitious humour, and ready to commit any wickedness for preferment. Being told of this Man as he was at the Close-Stool, he went to him, whom he found more free to undertake the work than he was to employ him, so the bargain was soon made, and nothing remained but an opportunity to effect it. K. *Richard* had before sent *John Green* one of his Privadoes, to Sir *R. Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the Tower, to require him to do the deed, he being raised by him,

but the Lieutenant declaring an absolute aversion thereto, Good Lord, says the King, *Whom can a Man trust*: So that finding he must be removed, or it was impossible to effect it, he sends him an Order by Sir *J. Tyrril*, to deliver up the Keys of the Tower to him. *Tyrril* being now Lieutenant for the time, hires two Rascals like himself, *Giles Forrest*, and *James Leighton* his Hostler, a lusty fellow, to join with him in the Murder of these Innocent Children, who coming into their Chamber in the Night, with one *Black Will*, another bloody Villain, they wrapt them up in the Bed-cloaths, and keeping them down with all their strength upon their Mouths, they soon stifled them, and so they surrendered up their Innocent Souls to Heaven. The Murtherers perceiving, first by their strugling and then their long lying still, that they were Dead, laid their Bodies out upon the Bed, and called Sir *James* to see them, who caused them to be buried under the Stairs under a heap of Stones, from whence they were afterward removed to a place of Christian Burial, by a Priest of Sir *R. Brackenbury*, who dying soon after it was never known where they were laid; which gave occasion to the Imposture in K. *Henry VII.* Reign of *Perkin Warbeck*, who pretended to be *Richard D. of York* the Younger Brother, that by the compassion of the Murtherers was saved, and sent to seek his Fortune. Others write that K. *Richard* caused their Bodies to be taken up, and being closed in Lead, to be put into a Coffin full of holes, and thrown into a place called the *Black Deep*, at the Thames mouth, to secure them from being ever seen again. But Divine Vengeance soon reached the Murtherers, *Forrest* rotting away alive peice meal at *St. Martins Le Grand*: *Leighton* dyed at *Callice* detested of all Men, and in great misery; *Tyrril* was afterward Beheaded for Treason at *Tower-Hill*, and K. *Richard* himself after this execrable Fact, never was quiet in mind, being tormented with fearful Dreams, starting out of his Bed,

Bed, and running about the Chamber with great horror, as if all the Fiends in Hell had been torturing his vexed Soul.

And here we may observe, That Confederacies in Evil seldom continue long, but usually end in reciprocal ruin: And thus it happened with K. Richard, and the D. of Buckingham his intimate Favourite, who had been Confederates in the Death of many, which now dissolves in the destruction of them both. What the cause of the first breach was, whether the Duke did not think he was sufficiently rewarded for his Services: Or that K. Richard did not judge himself safe, whilst he that set him on the Throne remained so Great: Or that the Duke being Ambitious and Aspiring, grew envious at his own act in advancing him, is uncertain, but the last seems most probable, since he pretended sickness to avoid being present at the Coronation: Which King R. was jealous of, and sent him word, That if he did not come, he would fetch him. So the Duke came but with so ill a will that ever after there was no good understanding between them, he retiring to his Castle at Brecknock.

And here the inscrutable depth of Divine Providence is very remarkable, which the greatest Politicians cannot Fathom; For the King had committed the B. of Ely to the Duke's custody, to secure him from doing hurt, and designed it for the Bishop's punishment. Whereas this very thing was the means of K. Richard's destruction. For the D. coming home, seemed much disturbed and would sometimes talk with the Bishop, who being a Man of Wit and Judgment, he became extremely pleased with his company, and opened himself more freely, whereby the Bishop perceived the chief cause of his trouble was his envy to K. Richard; and so took an opportunity to discourse him to this purpose. My Lord You know that formerly I took part with K. Henry IV. and could have wished his Son had enjoyed the Crown,

Crown, but after God had ordained K. Edward IV. to Reign. I was never so mad to contend for a dead Prince against a living one; and so I was a faithful Chaplain to K. Edward, and would have been glad his Child had succeeded him, but since by the secret judgment of God it hath happened otherwise, I will not strive to set up what God hath pluck'd down: And as for the Lord Protector and now King

Here the Bishop made a pause, saying, He had already medled too much in the World, and would now be concerned only with his Books and his Beads. Because he ended with King, the Duke was impatient to have him proceed, faithfully promising no hurt should come from it, but it may be much good; assuring him the reason why he desired the King to put him under his custody, was that he might secretly ask his advice. My Lord, Said the Bishop, I humbly thank your Grace, but I confess I do not much care to talk of Princes, since it often proves dangerous, though nothing be ill meant: But a Man's words may be interpreted, not as he intended them, but as the Prince pleases to construe them, which puts me in mind of one of *Æsop's Fables*. The Lyon had published a Proclamation, That upon pain of death no Horned Beast should continue in an adjoining Wood, now a certain Beast that had a bunch in his forehead, flying away in great hast was met by a Fox, who ask'd him whither he ran so fast? Fast, quoth he, I think it is time to run if I intend to save my life? Why Brother Reynard, han't you heard of the Proclamation against Horned Beasts? What then you Fool, quoth the Fox, That does not concern you, for I am sure you have no Horns on your Head: Ah marry, quoth the Beast, that I know well enough, but what if the Lyon should call my bunch a Horn, where were I then, Brother Reynard? The Duke laughed at the Story, and said, My Lord, I warrant you neither the Lyon nor the Boar shall pick any Matter out of any thing that has been spoken, for it shall

shall never come near their Ears. In good faith, Sir, says the Bishop, What we have said, if taken as we meant it, could only deserve thanks, but being wrested as some would do, might be of ill Consequence to us both. The Duke intreated him to go on, in his former discourse; My Lord, said the Bishop, as for the late Protector, since he is now King in possession, I shall not dispute his Title, but for the good of the Kingdom, I could wish he had in him those excellent Virtues wherewith God Almighty has qualified your Grace. Here he stopt again; My Lord said the Duke, I much wonder at these sudden pauses, which so interrupt your discourse that I can neither comprehend your thoughts of the King, nor your affection to my self, I therefore beg of you freely to discover your sentiments, and upon my honour, I will be as secret as the Deaf and Dumb person is to the Singer, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Bishop upon this; assurance of the Dukes proceeded.

My Lord, 'I plainly perceive this Realm is in great danger of being brought to confusion and desolation under the present Government; but I have still some hope remaining by the dayly observation of your Noble Personage, your Justice, your ardent love to your Country, and likewise the great love the People have toward you, and should think the Kingdom fortunate which had a Prince so fit to be their Governour as your self, whose Person and Actions contain in them all that is truly great, just and honourable. He then reproached the King for his many Murders, Cruelties, and Oppressions, aiding, 'And now my Lord, If you love God, your Posterity, or your Native Country, you must your self take upou you the Imperial Crown of this Realm: But if you refuse the same, I then adjure you by the Faith you owe to God, and the regard you ought to have for your Native Land, in your Prince, by Wisdom to contrive some means whereby the Kingdom may be settled in Peace, Liberty and safety.

‘ safety under a Legal Government ; and if you think
‘ fit to advance again the House of Lancaster, or to
‘ Marry the Eldest Daughter of K. Edward IV. to
‘ some powerful Prince ; the new Crowned King may
‘ be quickly remov'd from his Usurp'd Throne, and
‘ thereby Peace and Tranquility will again be restored
‘ to the Nation.

Having ended his Speech, the Duke remained silent for some time, only breathing forth many deep sighs, which much startled the Bishop, and made his colour change. The Duke perceiving it, Be not afraid my Lord, said he, All promises shall be kept ; and so for that time they parted. Next day the Duke sent for the Bishop, and having repeated their former discourse ; he proceeded, ‘ My Lord of Ely, Because I discern you have a real kindness for me, I will freely unbosom my Thoughts to you : After I observed the falsehood of K. Richard, and especially when I heard of the Barbarous Murther of the two Young Princes, to which God is my witness I never condescended, I so much abhor'd his presence, that I left the Court upon a pretended excuse, he not in the least perceiving my discontent, and so returned to Brecknock to you. In my return, whether by Inspiration, or Melancholy, I was possest with many Conivances how to deprive this Unnatural Butcher of his Royal Dignity. First, I fancied that if I had a mind to take the Crown, now was the time, the Tyrant being so generally abhorred, and believing that I had the nearest right to the Succession. In this imagination I continued two days at Tewksbury, ruminating whether I had best take upon me the Crown as a Conqueror, but then I thought the Nobility and Commons would use their utmost Efforts against me. At length I happened on some thing that I did not doubt would have brought forth fair Flowers, yet proved nothing but Weeds. For I was thinking that Edmund D. of Somerset my Grandfather, was with Henry VI. within

within two or three degrees of *John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster*; and my Mother being Eldest Daughter to Duke *Edmund*, I supposed my self to be next Heir to K. *Henry VI.* of the House of *Lancaster*. This Title pleased those whom I made of my Council, but much more my aspiring mind; while I was perplext whether it were best instantly to publish this my Right, or wait some better opportunity observe what happened: As I rid from *Worcester* to *Bridgnorth*, I met the Lady *Margaret, Countess of Richmond*, now Wife to the Lord *Stanley*, and Daughter and Sole Heir to *John Duke of Somerset*, my Grandfather's Elder Brother, whom I had as utterly forgot, as if I had never known her, so that she and her Son *Henry Earl of Richmond* have a Right before me. By this I perceived my mistake, and resolved to relinquish all Ambitious Thoughts, and to endeavour the Establishment of the Earl of *Richmond*, Right Heir of the House of *Lancaster*; and that he should Marry the Lady *Elizabeth, Eldest Daughter to K. Edward, IV.* so that the two Roses might be hereby united. And now said the Duke, I have told you my whole Heart.

The Bishop was glad that they had both hit upon the same Design, and extolling his well laid Contrivance, replied, Since by your Graces incomparable Prudence this Noble Conjunction is intended, it will be necessary to consider who are fittest to be acquainted with it. By my troth, quoth the Duke, we will begin with the Countess of *Richmond*, the Earl's Mother, who will inform us whether he be under Confinement or at Liberty in *Britain*. And thus was the Foundation of a League laid by these two Great Men, which revenged the Death of the two innocent Princes: And it was prosecuted with all Expedition; one *Reynold Bray* being employed by the Bishop, to his Lady the Countess of *Richmond*; Doctor *Lewis the Dutchesse Physician*, was sent to Queen *Elizabeth*, and two other Persons were ordered privately to wait

wait upon the Earl of Richmond then in France, and acquaint him with the Design, and procure his Consent to the intended Marriage; Who coming to the Earl, and giving him Information of the Plot, he discovers it to the D. of Britain, who though by Hutton K. Richard's Ambassador, he had by many great offers been solicited to detain the Earl in Prison, yet he readily promised him his utmost Assistance: Several Knights and Gentlemen were also brought into the Confederacy in England. Bishop Morton retires in disguise into the Isle of Ely, where having prepared his Friends to espouse the Earl's Interest, he went to Britain to him, and continued there till the Earl, when King, sent for him home, and made him Archbishop of Canterbury.

But though all was managed with the utmost Priuacy, and under Oaths of Secrecie, yet King Richard had discover'd it; but pretending Ignorance, he sends for the D. of Buckingham to come to him, who endeavouring to excuse it, he at last peremptorily commands him to appear upon his Allegiance; upon which the Duke returned this resolute Answer, *That he owed no Allegiance to such a Perjured Inhumane Butcher of his own Flesh and Blood;* and so from that time Preparations of War are made on each side. The Duke had assembled a good number of Welshmen, and the Marquits of Dorset having got out of Sanctuary, was raising Forces in Yorkshire. The two Countneys were doing the same in Devonshire and Cornwall, and the Lords Guilford and Tame in Kent: K. Richard sets forward with his Forces, the D. of Buckingham marches to encounter him, intending at Gloucester to have past the Severn, and joined the two Countneys; but the great Rains had so swelled the River, that overflowing its Banks there was no fording it. This Inundation was so great that Men were drowned in their Beds, Houses overturned, Children carried about the Fields swimming in Cradles, and many Beasts were drowned, which continued 10 Days and was called,

The

The Great Water, or the D. of Buckingham's Water. The Welshmen were so affrighted with this Accident, that judging it an ill Omen, they all secretly deserted him, so that the D. being alone without either Page or Footman, retired to the House of one Humphrey Banister near Shrewsbury, who having been advanced by him and his Father, he thought himself safe under his Roof. But Banister, upon K. Richard's Proclamation of a Reward of 1000 Pound to him that should take the Duke, treacherously discovered him to the High Sheriff of Shropshire, who took him in a Thread-bare black Cloak in an Orchard behind the House, and carried him to Shrewsbury where K. Richard quartered, and there without Arraignment, or legal Proceeding he was in the Market-place beheaded. Whether Banister received the Reward from K. Richard is uncertain; but it is certain he received the Reward of a Villain from Divine Justice; himself being hanged for Manslaughter, his eldest Daughter was ravished by one of his Plowmen, or as some say struck with a loathsome Leprosie; his eldest Son in a desperate Lunacy murder'd himself, and his younger Son was drowned in a small puddle of Water.

This was the fatal end of the Great D. of Buckingham, who went too far for a good Man, in being accessory to the depriving the Innocent Princes of their Birthright, and declaring them Bastards. But it seems he went not far enough for so bad a Man as K. Richard, because he would not consent to the Murder of them. However he fell by the same hand that advanced him to be his chief Favourite and Privado. And though K. Richard now triumph'd over his Enemies, yet in a short time he lost both his Crown and Life in one day; the Foundation of his Ruine having been first laid by this unprosperous Conspiracy, being slain in a Battle at Bosworth in Leicestershire, by Henry Earl of Richmond, who succeeded him by the name of K. Henry VII.



*Remarks on the Life, Actions, and Fall of Thomas
Woolsey, Cardinal of York, Favourite to King
Henry VIII.*

THE Magnanimity of Spirit which appeared in the Life and Actions of this Great Cardinal, doth clearly evince, that Persons of mean Birth may be Possessors of as much Grandure of Soul, as those of Noble Descent; which occasioned some to alledge that he must needs be the By-blow of some Prince, and not the Issue of such mean Parents as his were generally reckoned. For all Historians relate, that he was the Son of an honest poor Butcher at Ipswich in Suffolk, who in his Childhood being apt to learn, his Father, with the Assistance of Friends, sent him to a Grammar-School, from whence he in a short time went to Oxford, where he was so great a Proficient,

cient, that at 15 Years old he was made Batchellor of Arts, and called the Boy Batchellor. He was after made Fellow of *Magdalen College*, and Master of *Magdalen School*, and had the Education of the Marquis of *Dorset's Sons*, by whose care they so well profited in Learning, that the Marquis bestowed a Benefice in his Gift upon this Ingenious School-Master, who then left his Fellowship, and came to his living, where he had not been long when Sir *J. Pawlet*, upon some displeasure set him in the Stocks; which Affront was not forgotten nor forgiven by *Woolsey*. Who, when by the mighty favour of Fortune he came to be L. Chancellor of *England*, sent for Sir *James*, and after having sharply reproved him, enjoyned him not to stir out of the *Middle-Temple* without special License from himself, which he could not obtain in 6 Years.

After the Death of the Marquis of *Dorset*, from whom he expected higher Preferment his towring thoughts aimed at some greater Employment; and since he must make his own Fortune, resolved to take all opportunities to advance himself. He now became acquainted with Sir *John Naphant*, an Ancient Noble Knight, (formerly Treasurer of *Galice* under K. *Henry VII.*) to whom he was Chaplain, and by his Wisdom gained such Favour with his Master, that he committed all the charge of his Office to his Chaplain. At length being discharged of his Employment for his great Age, he returned into *England*, but retained so much Kindness for *Woolsey*, that by his Interest at Court he procured him to be one of the Chaplains to K. *Henry VIII.*

Having thus cast Anchor in the Port of Preferment he rose amain, being hereby in the King's Eye by reason of his daily Attendance, and saying Mass before him in his Closet. Neither did he squander away his leisure time, but would attend those Great Men who were in most Favour with the King, and among others Dr. *Fox*, and the L. *Lovell*, Master of the Wards and Constable of the Tower, who perceiving him

him to be a Man of an acute Wit, thought him fit to be employed in Matters of State. And K. Henry having occasion to send an Ambassador to the Emperor of Germany, these two Grave Counsellors recommended *Woolsey* as proper for so honourable an Office. The King instantly sent for him, and discoursing with him about Matters of State, found him endued with so much Eloquence, Learning, Judgment and Modesty, that he caused his Commission and Instructions to be drawn up: Which having received, he took his leave of the King at *Richmond* at 4 a Clock in the Afternoon, and in three Hours arrived at *Gravesend*, from thence he rid Post to *Dover*, and going aboard the Passage-boat, arrived next day at Noon at *Callice*, and the same Night came to the Emperor's Court at *Brussels*, who having notice of the Arrival of the King of England's Ambassador, out of great Affection to his Master, gave him Audience the same Evening. Having delivered his Message and Credentials, and humbly desiring his speedy dismissi-
on, the Emperor granted all his Master's Requests, and dispatched him the next day. He then rides back that Night Post to *Callice*, being attended by several Noblemen by the Emperor's Order, and came thither in the Morning before the Gates were open, and the Pacquet-Boat being ready to go off, he arrived at *Dover* by 11 at Noon, and the same Night came Post to *Richmond*, and next Morning presented himself to the King at his coming out of his Bed Chamber to Mass, who check'd him for not being upon his Journey. May it please your Highness, said he. I have been with the Emperor already, and I hope have dispatched my Embassy to your Graces Satisfaction. The King admired at his Expedition, asking whether he met with the Messenger sent after him, before he thought him gone from London, with further Instructions of weighty Consequence, Yes, said *Woolsey*, I met with him Yesterday by the way, and though I did know his Message, yet presuming upon

upon your Highness goodness, and judging those Matters necessary to be done, I made bold to exceed my Commission, and dispatch them, for which I humbly beg your Majesty's Pardon. The King much pleased, replied, *We not only pardon you, but give you also our Royal Thanks, both for your discreet Management and great Expedition.*

Soon after the King bestowed on him the Deanary of *Lincolen*, being one of the greatest Promotions under the degree of a Bishop, and made him his Lord *Almoner*, wherein he behaved himself with so much discretion, that he was advanced to be one of the Lords of the Privy Council, had *Bridewell* one of his Royal Houses for his Residence and Family, and was observed by the People to be a Rising Favourite. For the King was Young, and much given to pleasure, and his Ancient Councillours advising him to be sometimes present in Council, to consult about the weighty Affairs of the Government, his Lord *Almoner* on the contrary, dissuaded him from imbarasing himself in the Fatigues of State, assuring him, that if he would allow him sufficient Authority he would manage all Affairs to his content. This Advice was received by the Youthful Prince, who gave him what Power he demanded, so that governing all things according to his own mind, he seemed to Rule more than the King himself.

In the first Year of K. *Henry's* Reign, a difference happened between him and the French King *Lewis XII.* who upon some private quarrel with Pope *Julius II.* Marched with a great Army into *Italy*, and possest himself of the Rich City of *Bolonia*: K. *Henry* having a great respect for the Pope, because he had dispensed with his late Marriage with Q. *Katherine* his Brother *Arthur's* Widow, and finding he was unable to defend himself, offered to be a Mediatour of Peace between them; but the French King, flushed with Success, refused or neglected his Proposal, which so inflamed the vigorous Mind of the Young King

King, that he declared to the World, that as he scorned to be neglected, so he abhorred to be idle in this affair, and resolved by Invading the Dominions of France to withdraw that King out of the Pope's Territories. In pursuance whereof he sends Ambassadors to K. *Lewis*, requiring him to deliver up the peaceable possession of his two Dutchies of *Guin* and *Normandy*, with his Ancient Inheritance of *Anjou* and *Mayn*, which had for many Years been wrongfully detained from his Predecessors and himself.

The little acquaintance that the French King had with K. *Henry*, and the contempt of his Youth caused him to return a slight denial to his demand, whereupon K. *Henry* proclaimed War against him, and resolved to Invade his Countrey in Person, with a gallant Army, and believing no Man more proper to make provision for this great Expedition than *Woolsey* committed the sole management thereof to his Wisdom and Policy, who scrupling no command of the King's undertook this difficult charge, and proceeded therein so dexterously, that all things were in a short time provided this Voyage. The King then Marched with his Army to *Dover*, and Transporting them to *Callice*, proceeded in order of Battle to the strong Town of *Tyrwin*, which he vigorously assaulted and took. In which Siege the Emperor *Maximilian*, with Thirty Noblemen repaired to his Camp, and were all inrolled in the King's Pay. He Marched from thence to *Tournay*, which was soon surrendered to him; which Bishoprick the King bestowed upon his *Almoner Woolsey*, and returning into England was welcomed with the News of a great Victory, obtained by the Earl of *Surrey* against *James King of Scotland*, he himself with divers of his Nobility and 18000 Scots and French (who came to his Assistance) being slain.

The Bishoprick of *Lincoln* and the Archbishoprick of *York* being vacant, the King bestowed them upon *Woolsey*; and soon after he obtained of the Pope to

be made Cardinal of *York*, and his Master *Henry*, for his great Zeal to the Holy Chair, had the Title of Defender of the Faith confer'd upon him. Being suddenly mounted to such a mighty height, and the King's Affection daily increasing, it made him so extreme proud and insolent, that he thought none to be his equal; He erected Ecclesiastical Courts, and had the boldness to summon the A. B. of *Canterbury* and all the other Bishops and Clergymen to appear before him. And as his Authority was superior to all, so he exceeded them all in Covetousness and Ambition; and for many Years the Kingdom groaned under his Oppressions, and Depredations. Yet his Ambition was so excessive that he still hunted after greater Dominion; intermeddling with affairs wherein he was not concerned, especially in the Chancellorship, which then pertained to the A. B. of *Canterbury*, who being Old, and perceiving how great a Favourite *Woolsey* was, chose rather to give up the Seal than have them taken from him, and the King delivered them to *Woolsey*; which Favours and Dignities might have satisfied any but the infatiable mind of this Mighty Prelate, who was now Cardinal, Archbishop, Lord Chancellor, and Councillor of State.

But he still aimed to be Higher, and to gratifie his humour this occasion offered: In 1517 Pope *Leo* sent Cardinal *Campeius*, as his Legate to K. *Henry*, to sollicite him (as he had done the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and the Priuces of *Germany*) to join in a League against the *Turks*, who made horrible Ravages into Christendom. The subtil Cardinal being sensible that when *Campeius* arrived, he must have the Precedency of him upon all Occasions on the account of his Legateship, he privately sent two Bishops to *Calice*, as if to attend on him, who cunningly insinuated into *Campeius*, that his Journey would be ineffectual unless *Woolsey* were joined in equal Authority with him. Whereupon *Campeius* dispatched an account thereof to *Rome*, and in 40 Days received a new

new Commission, whereby *Woolsey* was made the Pope's Legate, and joint Commissioner with him. But *Woolsey* having notice of the ragged condition of his Brother's Retinue, sent a great quantity of rich Cloath to Callice, to cloath his Servants answerable to the Dignity of so great a Personage. *Campeius* landed at *Dover*, and in his Passage to *London*, by *Woolsey*'s Order, was received with a Procession by the Clergymen and Magistrates through every Town, and attended by all the Lords and Gentlemen of *Kent*. Being arrived at *Black-Heath*, he was met by the Duke of *Norfolk*, a great number of Prelates and Clergy, and many Persons of Quality. The Cardinal was brought into a Tent covered with Cloth of Gold, where he shifted himself into his Cardinals Robes Furred with Rich Ermin; and then mounting his Mule rid toward *London*, having Eight Mules more laden with his Equipage attending him, but these not being sufficiently Magnificent in proud *Woolsey's* Eyes, he sent him twelve more to make the Pageantry more gay through *London*. The next day these Twenty Mules were led through the City, as it loden with treasures and other necessaries, to the great admiration of the People that the Legate should be possesse of such vast Riches, but their wonder quickly ceased by an unlucky accident, which turned all this vain Pomp into ridicule. For in going through *Cheapside* one of the skittish Jades, affrighted with the multitude of Spectators, broke his Collar and running upon the other Mules put them all into such disorder, that they threw their Sumpters to the ground, which flying open discovered the Cardinal's gallant Wealth, some of them being filled with old Cloaths, Rags, old Boots and Shoes, Horseshoes, and old Iron; Others with Marybones, Scraps of Meat, Roasted Eggs, Mouldy Crusts, and a great deal of other Trumpery, which gave sufficient diversion to the People, who shouted and clap'd their hands at this ridiculous sight; crying, Behold the Cardinal's Rich Treasure.

Treasure. The Muliteers were much ashamed at this Discovery; however quietly gathering up these hungry Relicks, they peaceably marched on: Cardinal Campeius was conducted through the City to St. Pauls, and having bestowed his Blessing upon the People, was brought to Cardinal Woolsey's Palace, where he lodged, having his Golden Crosses, Pillars, Guilt Axe, and Mace carried before him.

And now as Woolsey had the Power, so he maintained the Port and Grandeur of a Prince; of which we have this Account. He had in his Hall 3 long Tables, to which belonged 3 several Officers, a Steward who was always a Priest, a Treasurer a Knight, and a Comptroller an Esq;. He had also in the Hall a Confessor, a Doctor, 3 Marshals, 3 Ushers, two Almoners and 2 Grooms: In the Hall Kitchin, 2 Clarks, a Comptroller, a Surveyor over the Dresser, a Clark of the Spicery, 2 Cooks, 12 Labourers and Children: In the Kitchin a Master Cook, Clothed in Velvet or Satin with a Gold Chain, 2 Under-Cooks, 6 Labourers 4 Scallyry-men, 2 Yeomen of the Pastry, and 2 Past-layers under him: In the Larder a Yeoman and a Groom: In the Buttery 2 Yeomen and 2 Grooms: In the Eury as many, In the Cellar 3 Yeomen, 3 Pages: In the Chandery 2 Yeomen: In the Wafary 2 Yeomen: In the Wardrobe of the Beds, the Master and 20 Persons besides: In the Landrey, a Yeoman, a Groom, and 2 Pages; 2 Yeomen Purveyors, and a Groom Purveyor: In the Bake house 2 Yeomen, 2 Grooms: In the Woodyard a Yeoman and a Groom: in the Barn a Yeoman: Two Yeomen and 2 Grooms Porters at the Gate: A Yeoman of his Bing: A Master of his Horse: A Clark and Yeomen of the Stables: A Farrier and Yeoman of the Stirrup: A Master and 16 Grooms, every one keeping four Geldings. His Chappel was furnished with a vast number of costly Ornaments and rich Jewels, 40 Copes, gloriously imbroidered with Gold and Silver, Silver Candlesticks, and other necessary Utensils: In which

were a Dean, a Sub-Dean, a Repeater of the Quire, a Gospeller, an Epistoler of the Singing Priests, a Master of the Children: In the Vestry a Yeoman and 2 Grooms, besides other Retainers that appeared at principal Feasts.

He had likewise 2 Cross-bearers and 2 Pillar-bearers in the Great Chamber; and in his Privy-Chamber the Chief Chamberlain, Vice Chamberlain, Gentlemen Usher, 12 Waiters, 6 Gentlemen Waiters: Also 9 or 10 Lords, who had 2 or 3 Men to wait on them, and the Earl of *Darby* 5. Then he had Gentleman Cup-bearers, Carvers, and 40 Sewers of the Great and Privy-Chamber, 6 Yeomen Ushers, 8 Grooms 12 Doctors and Chaplains daily Guests, besides his own a Clerk of his Closet, 2 Secretaries, 2 Clerks of his Signet and 4 Counsellors Learned in the Law.

As he was Lord Chancellour of *England*, he had a Riding Clark, a Clark of the Crown, of the Hamper, of the Check, 4 Footmen with gallant Liveries, a Herald at Arms, a Serjeant at Arms, a Physician, an Apothecary, 4 Minstrels, a Keeper of his Tents (when upon a Journey) and an Armourer. Also in his House, a Surveyor of *York*, a Clark of the Green-Cloth; all these attended daily. At Dinner he had every day 8 Tables furnish'd for his Chamberlains and Gentlemen Officers, half of whom were young Lords, who had 2 or 3 Persons to wait on them, and all the rest had one. These were all his inrolled Servants, (besides Retainers and other Persons that came about business, who daily dined in his Hall) which according to the List amounted to 1800 Persons. So that he was as bountiful an House-keeper as any in that Age, and much superior to any since.

When he went to *Westminster-Hall* to hear Causes as Lord Chancellor, he was clothed in red like a Cardinal, his upper Garment all of Scarlet, or else fine Crimson Taffety, or Crimson Sattin in Grain. A black Tippet of Sables about his Neck, and an Orange in his

his hand, the Ment taken out, and filled with Confessions to prevent the ill scents from the Crouds of People. Being mounted, his 2 Cross bearers, and his 2 Pillar bearers all in Scarlet rid before him; then one with the Purse and Great Seal of England, another with his Cardinals Cap, then a train of Gentlemen with every one a Pole-ax, next the Cardinal himself, attended on each side by 4 Footmen. In the same State he went every Sunday to the Court at Greenwich in a very rich Barge, with Yeomen all round, where when he arrived he was attended by the L. Treasurer, Comptroller and other principal Officers of the King's House, who conveyed him in State into the King's Chamber.

In this grandeur he continued 14. or 15 years, managing all affairs of State, to whom all foreign Ambassadors made their application, and all Addresses and Petitions were offered. And to secure this Sovereign Power which he had gained over the King's affections, he contrived all kind of diversiments suitable to his juvenile temper, as Masking, Dancing, Banqueting, Young Ladies, and variety of other Pastimes. I saw the King (saith my Author) come one time suddenly to the Cardinals Palace at Westminster now *White Hall*, which he had newly built, with 12 Masquers attired like Shepherds in cloth of Gold and Silver imbroidered, and others in Vizors all in Sattin. The King came privately by Water, and arriving at the Stairs, several great guns were discharged, which much surprized the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Ladys, a great number of whom the Cardinal at that time was treating at a sumptuous Supper, he himself sitting at the upper end of the Table under a Cloth of State, a Gentleman and Lady being placed together through all the Tables. The Cardinal at the great noise, as if ignorant of the matter, desired the L. Chamberlain to inquire the meaning thereof. Who looking out of the Window into the Thames returned and told him he believed there were

some Noblemen and Strangers coming to the Landing Stairs. My Lord said the Cardinal I intreat you who can speak French, to go and receive them and conduct them to our Banquet, desiring them to set down and be merry with us. The L. Chamberlain went into the Hall, and with 20 Torches, and a great number of Drums and Trumpets brought them into the Dining Room, who by two together went up to the Cardinal's Chair, and saluted him. To whom the L. Chamberlain said, My L. Cardinal these Gentlemen being Strangers, and not speaking English, desire me to inform your Grace that they hearing of your Magnificent Banquet this Night, and of such a num-
of handsome Ladies as were assembled thereto, they persumed upon your Graces goodness to intrude into your Palace to take a vew of these fine beauties and to offer their service to them. The Cardinal replied they were welcome, whereupon having saluted all the Ladies, a great Cup of Gold filled with Crown Pieces was opened and they thrown on the Table to play withal. After they had play'd some time, the Gentlemen came and threw down their winnings before the Cardinal being about 200 Crowns; Have at all, quoth he, and throwing a Die he won it, whereat the Company seemed much pleased.

Then said the Cardinal, My Lord Chamberlain, Pray go and tell these Gentlemen that I am of opinion there is a Nobleman among them who better deserves to sit in this place than I, and to whom I would gladly surrender it according to my duty if I knew him. The L. Chamberlain spoke to them in French, and they replied, That they must confess there was such a Noble Personage among them, whom if his Grace could distinguish from the rest he would then discover himself and accept of his Place. The Cardinal taking a strict review of them said, I believe the Gentleman with the black Beard is he, and thereupon he rose up and offered him his Chair with the Cup in his hand; But it was Sir Edward Nevil who

was very like K. Henry, who seeing the Cardinal's mistake could not forbear laughing, and pulling off his Vizor and Sir Edward's likewise; discovered himself to all his Guests, and then withdrawing, clothed himself in his Royal Robes. In which short space the Tables were covered again with presumad Linnen, and the King and his Masquers returning in their rich Cloths a Royal Banquet of 200 Dishes was brought in where they continued Feasting and Dancing till next Morning. As these Entertainments discover the Magnificence wherein the Cardinal lived, so also the familiar temper of K. Henry, whom one Historian says was so free from Pride, that he was rather too humble, at least he conversed with his Subjects in a more familiar manner than is usual with Princes. Which is confirmed by a Passage in the 11th year of his Reigo, when the Privy Council complaining that certain young Gentlemen in his Court forgetting the respect due to his Royalty, used many unseemly actions and discourses with him, they were with his consent banished the Court, and several ancient grave Knights and Gentlemen placed in their Room about his Person.

Neither did the Cardinals Grandeur consist only in these instances, but likewise in erecting magnidcent Houses and Palaces, as York Place at Westminster, so named by him from his Archbischyprick, now White-hall; Hampton Court; his stately buildings at Christ-Church and Windsor. He likewise designed to have built two new Colleges in Oxford and Ipswich the Town of his Birth, and obtained a License of Pope Clement to luppess 40 Monasteries, and seize their Revenues to perform the same, And for the support of his Dignity he enjoyed at one time seven rick Bishopricks, that is York, Winchester, Lincoln, Tournay, Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, so that seemed a Monster with seven Heads, each of them honoured with a Miter. Being thus imperiously Great, more like a Prince than a Priest he was continually inventing new

ways for getting Money; requiring an account of the Captains, Treasurers and other Officers that had been imployed in paying the Souldiers in the Wars, some of whom he obliged to refund great sums of their ill gotten Estates, who made themselves poor to enrich him; Others compounded for half they were worth; But those that had prodigally spent what they wrongfully gained, were exposed to publick shame and punishment. So that none suffered, though deeply Criminal, but only for the Mortal Sin of Poverty. He likewise erected several Courts of Equity, as he called them, but the People named them Courts of Iniquity, in which upon pretence of relieving the poor from the rigour of the Law, he brought such a multitude of Causes into them that the other Courts of Justice were abandoned, and he thereby gained vast Treasures, till at length the People perceiving that he only grew Rich and themselves poor, and that the Verdicts in these Courts would not stand in Common Law, they left them and returned to the former course of Proceeding. He likewise erected a Court which he called the Legantite Court, whereby he visited all Bishopricks and Monasteries, punishing such Clergymen as were unable to bribe him, but enriching himself by those who were full of Money and full of Faults. By the same Authority he suppresset several Abbies and Priors, seizing all their Lands, leaving only a small Pension to the Abbots and Priors, whereby he purchased great riches and great hatred fram the Clergy, who in many places opposed his Visitor Dr. Allen (who rid in Velvet Gown with a great Train) and for which they were openly cursed by Dr. Forrest at Paul's Cross so that the Cardinal prevailed against them all; the generality complaining that by his Visitations, Probate of Wills, granting of Faculties, Licenses, and other Tricks, he made his Revenue equal to the King's besides great sums which he yearly conveyed to the Court of Rome.

In 1517. The Citizens of London being provoked by the multitude of French and Wallons, who settling here, undersold their Goods, and thereby impoverish'd them, they resolved to be rid of this Annoyance all at once. Whereupon John Lincoln, a Broker, persuaded one Dr. Bell to represent this great Grievance to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in a Sermon, at the Spittle on Easter Tuesday, who took these Words for his Text, *The Heaven is the Lord's, but the Earth he hath given to the Sons of Men.* From hence he infer'd, that this Land was given to Englishmen, who were obliged to defend the same as Birds do their Nests, and to fight for their Country, by the Law of God, against all Strangers and Foreigners, who, to the great Vexation and Ruin of the People, had now over-run the Land, and for which there was no redress to be had, but by the Commons uniting together and extirpating them out of the City and Kingdom; and thereby avenging themselves of the many Affronts and Abuses they had lately publickly offer'd them. This Sermon inflamed the Minds of the Citizens, who were sufficiently enraged before, so that they took all occasions to quarrel with the Foreigners, and a Rumour was spread, that the next *May* day would be very remarkable. The Cardinal and Council hearing of it, ordered the Lord Mayor to keep strong Watches throughout the City. However on *May Eve* several hundreds of young Fellows got together, and in the Morning they fell to rifling the Houses of several Foreigners, but 4 or 500 of them being seized by the Lord Mayor, were committed to Prison, and 278 were afterward indicted for High Treason, but *John Lincoln* only was executed, the King by the Intercession of three Queens, Katherine Q. of England, and the French Q. and Q. of Scots his Sisters, and by the persuasion of Cardinal Woolsey, without whose advice he would do nothing, pardoning all the rest, being 400 Men and 11 Women, who were brought by the Lord Mayor with Ropes about

about their Necks into *Westminster Hall*, where the **Cardinal** severely reprimanded the **Lord Mayor** and **Aldermen** for their negligence in not securing the **Peace** of the **City**, and then aggravated the high **Crime** of the **Prisoners**, who had justly deserved death. Upon which they all cried to the **King** for **Mercy**, who told them he would pardon them all; which he had no sooner pronounced, but the **Prisoners** gave a loud shout, throwing up their **Halters** toward the top of the **Hall**, and so were dismissed, and the **Gibbets**, set up in several **Parts** of the **City** for their **Execution**, taken down. ; and afterwards this was named, *The Evil May day.*

About this time **Maximilian** the **Emperor** died, and **Charles V.** his **Son** succeeded him in the **Empire of Germany**, the **Kingdom of Spain**, and the **Low Countries**. Upon which **Cardinal Woolsey** was sent over to **Bruges** in **Flanders** to condole with, and congratulate the young **Emperor** then **Resident** there, furnish'd in all **Respects** like a **Great Priuce**, his **Attendants** being clothe'd, some in **Crimson Velvet**, and **Chains of Gold** about their **Necks**. Others in fine **Scarlet** edged with **black Velvet**; and was received by the **Emperor** with as much **Honour** as if it had been the **King** himself, having the **Great Seal of England** with him, which was always carried before him, being served upon the **Knee** by several **English Noblemen** and **Gentleme**; the **Germans** admiring at his strange **Pride** and **Insolence**. After which he returned into **England** in great **Triumph**, being more in favour with the **King** than before.

The **French King Lewis** being weary of the **War** with **England**, and having a great **Kindness** for the **Lady Mary**, K. **Henry's Sister**, sent **Ambassadors** to treat of **Peace**, and of a **Marriage** with her. Both which were soon concluded, and the **Lady** was sent to **France**, and **Crowned Queen** at **Paris**, the **French** declaring, They thought themselves the **happiest People** in the **World**, who had so good a **King** and fair a **Queen** to reign over them. But **King Lewis** after

12 Weeks converse with his beautiful Lady died, and his Brother *Francis I.* succeeded him, who renewed the former amity between the two Kingdoms, and for further confirmation of the same desired an interview between them, which the Cardinal persuaded the K. to gratifie him in. Whereupon K. *Henry* and his Queen, attended by *Woolsey* and a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen sailed over to *Callice*, and in a Plain near *Guisnes*, a large Palace of Timber was framed, where both hhe Kings met and embraced each other with much seeming Affection, and nothing was want-
as to Justs, Turnaments, and the other Princely Mi-
litary Exercises of that Age, proper for such a Royal Assembly.

Soon after *Charles* the Emperor coming out of *Spain* to sail into the *Low Countries*, landed at *Dover*, where he was received and entertained by the Cardinal, and K. *Henry* went to *Canterbry* to meet him, and having sumptuously treated him a few days, the Emperor pursued his Voyage to *Flanders* in 44 Men of War. A while after some differences happened between the French King and the Emperor, to compoſe which, *Woolsey* with some other Noblemen were sent, but they not prevailing, K. *Henry* fell from the French King, alledging, that he had stirred up the *Scots* to make War with him, but King *Francis* laid all the blame on the Cardinal's Dissimulation, and treacherous Practices. However the War proceeded betwixt the two Kingdoms, and between the French King and the Duke of *Bourbon*, insomuch that the Duke fled out of *France* to the Emperor to save his Life: The Cardinal having notice of it, contrived that he should be K. *Henry*'s General against the French King, who thereupon raised a great Army against *Bourbon*, and drove him into the Town of *Pavia* in *Italy*, where he was so closely besieged, that he could get no Provisions, the Cardinal being secretly corrupted by the French King to with-hold his Pay; so that his Soldiers were ready to mutiny a-

gainst their new General. Finding his case desperate, he resolved to attempt an Escape; and in the dead of the Night sent some Forces to attack that part of the French Camp which was weakest, himself marching out on the other side the City. The Guards being weak, and the Soldiers asleep, it caused a very great disturbance among the French, who turned their Cannon toward the Assaulters; when *Burbon* falling unexpectedly upon their backs, drove them from their Cannon, which he turned upon themselves, slew their Soldiers, cut down their Tents, and took *K. Francis* Prisoner. This great Success so much encouraged these brave *Germans*, that with their Imperial Ensigns displayed they marched to *Florence*, and thence to *Rome*, and gave three Assaults to the Walls in one day, in the last of which the Duke of *Burbon* was slain; however his Army being commanded by the Prince of *Orange*, and other brave Generals, the Pope's Palace, and the Castle of *St. Angelo* were taked, and the Pope was made Prisoner, with 24 Cardinals that fled thither for Security. The City of *Rome* also was plundered, where the Soldiers gained a very rich Booty, so that they were over-loaded with Jewels, Plate and Money: During the Siege, the Soldiers would often cloath a Man like the Pope, and set him on Horseback with a Whore behind him, who sometimes bless'd, and sometimes curs'd as he rid along, whom the Soldiers called *Antichrist*.

The Cardinal hearing of the Misfortune of the Pope, endeavoured to induce *K. Henry* to declare War against the Emperor, and shew himself the Defender of the Church, who replied; *My Lord, I am more disturbed at this unhappy chance than my Tongue can express; but whereas you say, that I, as Defender of the Faith, ought to be concerned therein, I do assure you my Opinion is, That this War between the Pope and the Emperor is not a War of Religion, or for the Faith, but for Temporal Possessions and Dominion; and now Pope*

Clement

Clement is in the bands of Soldiers, what can I do? I can neither assist him with my Person, nor my People cannot rescue him; but if my Treasure will help him, take what you think convenient. Whereupon Woolsey took two hundred and forty thousand pound out of the Exchequer, which he carried over to Callice; and from thence in 80 Waggons, and a Guard of 1200 Horse, and 60 Mules and Sumpter Horses, and attended with a great number of Lords and Gentlemen, he conveyed this great Sum to the French Court at Amiens. Having before his going hence sent out Commissions to all the Bishops of England, to sing the Litany after this manner, *Holy Mary pray for our Holy Pope Clement Holy Peter pray for Pope Clement, &c.* And thus was the Cardinal disappointed in advising the King to declare the Duke of Bourbon his General, who proceeded farther than he imagined.

The Cardinal's Ambition being unlimited, he during the Imprisonment of the Pope, sent to the Emperor to use his Interest to advance him to the Papal Chair; but receiving a disobliging Answer, he grew so furious tha the sent the Emperor word, That if he would not endeavour his Advancement, he would make such a ruffling among the Christian Princes as there had not been 100 Years before, tho' it should cost him the whole Kingdom of England. The Emperor answering this insolent Letter in print, bid the Cardinal have a care of undertaking what might both ruin himself and the Kingdom. Hereupon the Cardinal sent private Letters to *Clarentius*, King at Arms, to join with the French Herald, and proclaim Defiance to the Emperor: Who suspecting that it was done without the King's knowledge, ordered his Ambassador at London to complain thereof. The King much wondered to hear it, and the Cardinal confidently affirm'd he knew nothing of the Matter, but that it was the Fault of *Clarentius*, who had done it at the Request of the French Herald; for which he swore he should

should lose his Head when he came to *Calliee*: *Clarentius* having Intelligence hereof, instantly imbarke'd at *Bullen*, and coming to *Greenwich*, was introduced by some of his Friends into the King's Presence, before the Cardinal knew of it, and produced the Cardinal's Letters, Commission, and Instructions for what he had done. At which the King was so surpriz'd, that he stood some time silent, and then said, *O Lord Jesus!* *He that I trusted most hath deceiv'd me, and given a false Account of my Affairs.* Well, *Clarentius*, for the future I shall take care whom I believe, for I find I have been informed of a great many things as true, which I now perceive to be utterly false. And from that time the King withdrew his Favour and Confidence from him.

Some time before this the Cardinal sent Letters to *Doctor Stephen Gardiner*, the King's Orator at *Rome*; (and afterward Bishop of *Winchester*) urging him to use all means for advancing him to the Papal Dignity, which he said nothing could induce him to aspire to, but the vehement desire he had to restore and advance the Authority of the Church, wherein no Man should be more Zealous and indefatigable than himself. He likewise ingaged the French King, and *K. Henry* to write to the Cardinals on his behalf, that he might succeed after the Death of Pope *Clement*; and vast Sums of Money were wasted in this busines, but all the Cardinals ambitious thoughts proved abortive; and as he already began to stagger in the King's favour, so in a short time he fell into his high displeasure. For these extravagant expences drained the King's Treasury so low, that the Cardinal was compell'd to contrive new ways for filling them again. To which end without the King's knowledge, and by his own Authority, he Issued out Commissions under the Great Seal to every County in England, for taking an account of every Man's Estate; and he that was worth 50 Pound, was charged to pay Four Shillings in the Pound: All that were worth above

20 and under 50 Pound, Two Shillings in the Pound; and those not worth 20 Pound, to pay Twelve pence, either in Money, or Plate, making himself chief Commissioner for raising the same in and about London: The Clergy were likewise charged at four Shillings in the Pound for their Livings.

These Proceedings were grievous both to the Clergy and People, who generally refused to comply, alledging, that these Commissions were contrary to Law, and against the Liberty of the Subject, and that it was not possible for those who were worth more, yet to raise the half of what they were charged with, either in Plate or Money, and Petitioned the Cardinal to intercede with the King for remitting it: To whom he haughtily replied, That he would rather have his Tongue pluck'd out of his Mouth with Pincers, than move any such thing; and was resolved to make them pay the utmost Farthing; and the Lord Viscount Lille one of the Commissioners in Hampshire, sending a Letter to the Cardinal that he doubted the raising this Money would occasion an Insurrection, he swore deeply, that his not following his Instructions should cost him his Head.

However the discontents of the People were so general, that the Cardinal doubting the Event, thought fit to recal those Commissions, and to issue others whereby he demanded a sixth part of every Mans Estate, according to the aforesaid Rates; which he did not doubt but they would have complied with; but they renewed their complaints and cursed the Tyrannical Cardinal for his Arbitrary Proceedings, which at length reach'd the King's Ear, who being told that all Places were filled with Clamours, Discontents and Mutinies, he openly protested these Commissions were issued out without his Knowledge or Consent; and to prevent farther Mischief by Proclamation vaoated them, declaring that though his necessities were never so urgent, yet he would never force his Subjects to pay any TAX without their own consent

consent in Parliament, but that his wants being extreme at this time, if they would by way of Benevolence, supply his present exigencies, he should accept it as an infallible Proof of their Love and Duty toward their Sovereign.

The Cardinal perceiving himself obliquely struck at by this Proclamation, as the principal Author of these heavy Pressures, he Politickly sent for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London to whom he declared, That perceiving the former Demands to be grievous to the People, he had upon his Knees (for the Love and Kindness he bore toward them) perswaded the King to annul those Commissions, and wholly to relieve upon the free Gift of his People; and though the King might have justly demanded the former Sums as a due Debt, yet he freely released them of the same; not doubting but they would equal if net exceed the Rates formerly required of them. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen assembling their respective Wards, acquainted them with the King's desire, but the Citizens absolutely refused to give any thing, alledging they had pay'd enough already, and were able to do no more, adding many opprobrious words against the Cardinal, who having notice of it sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen again, saying, he would examine them upon Oath what they were worth, which they also denied to have done; and one of their Counsellours pleaded that the demanding or paying of any Benevolence was contrary to the Statute made in the I. Year of King *Richard III.* What says the Cardinal, do you quote a Law made by an Usurper and Murtherer, the Counsellour replied, the Act was made by the Lords and Commons of England and not by him alone; Well, my Lord Mayor and Aldermen said the Cardinal, pray tell me what you will give, My Lord pray excuse me, said the Lord Mayor, for if I should offer any thing I do not know but it may cost me my Life; What for your kindness to your King,

that's very strange, said the Cardinal, why then I am afraid you will constrain the King to force you to your Duty; well my Lord, pray go home, and tell your Neighbours, the King will be very kind to them, if they do but shew their good will to him in some competent sum; Next day the Lord Mayor called a Common Council, where it was unanimously Voted, that the Meeting of the Aldermen in their respective Wards in order to the demanding a Benevolence of the Subject was contrary to Law, and not to be regarded; two or three of the Common Council moved, that every Man should go to the Cardinal and give him privately what they thought fit, but this so enraged the rest, that they required that these Men should be for ever excluded from sitting in the Common Council, and so the Court broke up in disorder, and every Man went home. Neither had this Project better success in other places, the People in *Kent*, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, etc. assembling three or four thousand in a Company, and openly declaring against the Benevolence, and the Duke of *Norfolk* coming to them, and demanding what was the cause of their Insurrection, and who was their Captain, was answered, That Poverty was both their Cause and Captain, the great Taxes they had already paid, having so ruined their Trades that they had not Bread for their Families, nor Work to employ them in, desiring the Duke to mediate with the King on their behalf.

The King having daily Intelligence of these Disorders, thought it dangerous to proceed further in this Matter; and summoning a great Council to *York* place (now *Whitehall*) he again made a solemn Protestation, That he never designed to demand any thing of his People, which might tend to the breach of the Laws, and desired to know by whose Order those Commissions were issued out to demand the sixth Part of every Man's Estate; The Cardinal answered, that it was done by the consent of the whole Council, and by the advice of the Judges, for the supply of

of the King's wants, who said it might lawfully be demanded, and that he took God to witness he never designed to oppress the Subject, but like a just Counsellor contrived how to enrich the King; and some Clergy-men had told him, that it might be done by the Law of God, because Joseph caused Pharaoh, K. of Egypt, to take the fifth Part of every Man's Goods in that Land; But however, said he, since I find every Man is willing to free himself of this Burden, I am content to take upon me the Scandal of it, and bear the ill Will of the Maltitude, for my good Will toward the King, and to clear you my Lords and Counsellors, but the Eternal God knows all. Well, said the King, I have been informed that my Realm was never so rich as now, and that no trouble would have risen upon this demand, since every Man would freely pay it at the first Request, but now I find all contrary; at which all held their Peace; Come, said the King, I'll have no more of these disturbances; pray send Letters to every County in England to recall the Benevolence, I will freely pardon what is past, but pray let me hear no more of it: The Lords on their Knees returned the King thanks, and Letters were sent accordingly, wherein somewhat to excuse the Cardinal, it was inserted, That the Lords, Judges, and others of the Privy Council first contrived that demand, and that the Cardinal only concurred with them in it; but however the Common People had a mortal Aversion to him for this, and many other illegal Practices, and his Interest with the King seemed likewise daily to lessen; and to disoblige the Court, he insinuated into the King, that his Family was much out of order, and undertook to reform the same by removing several Officers and Servants from their Places, and putting ill Men in their Rooms: He likewise presented his Mannor and Palace of Hampton Court to the King a little to sweeten him; in recompence of which, the King gave him leave to keep his Court in his Palace at Richmond, wherein King Henry VIIth did so extreamly

reamly delight ; which yet made him the more abhor'd, both by the Courtiers and People, who reproachfully said, *Who would ever have thought to have seen a Butcher's Dog lye in the Palace of Richmond.*

After this the Marriage of the King with Q. Katherine, his Brother Arthur's Widow began to be questioned ; and some Authors say, the Scruple about it was first put into the King's head by Cardinal Woolsey, who being naturally revengful, and never forgiving an Injury, moved it partly to be avenged on the Emperor, whose Sister Q. Katherine was, for not making him Pope, and partly because the Queen had often secretly and modestly reproved him for his Tyranny, Covetousness, Oppression, Pride, and Lasciviousness ; K. Henry seemed much disturbed at this Motion, and desired that the Legality of his Marriage might be debated by the Learned, pretending he had no design in it, but only to satisfy his Conscience, and to establish the Succession of the Crown in a righteous Heir, which could not be done if Q. Katherine were not his lawful Wife ; upon this account a religious Sorrow seemed to seize upon him, and he refrained from the Queen's Bed, till by a Judicial Sentence, this grand Affair might be settled : The Cardinal, to advance his Reputation higher with the King, procured a Commission from the Pope to himself and Cardinal Campeius, that before them as Supreme Judges, this Question might be debated by legal Processes and Proceedings, and determined according to the Laws of God and Man, the King declaring he intended nothing but Justice in the Case, and allowed the Queen to chuse Counsellors to defend her Cause, who nominated Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, West of Ely, Fisher of Rochester, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and some others.

Cardinal Campeius being again arrived in England, the two Legates caused a stately Court to be erected in Black-Fryers ; and their Commission being read, the Cryer called, *Henry K. of England, who answered,* *Here :*

Here: Then he cried, *Katherine Q of England* come into the Courts; the Queen made no answer, but rising out of her Chair, came to the King, and kneeling at his Feet she in broken English spake thus to him:

' Sir, I beseech you do me Justice and Right, and take some Pity upon me; I am a poor Woman and a Stranger born out of your Dominions, having here no indifferent Council, and less Assurance of Friendship; Alas Sir, how have I offended you, that you thus intend to shorten my Days; I take God to witness I have been to you a true and loyal Wife, ever conformable to your Will, and never contradicting your Desires, but have always complied and submitted to your Pleasure in all things, without the least grudging or discontent: For your Sake I have loved all Men whom you loved, whether they were my Friends or Enemies; I have been your Wife these twenty Years, by whom you have had many Children; and when I first came to your Bed, God and your own Conscience knows that I was a Virgin: If you can prove any dishonesty by me, whereby you may lawfully put me from you, I am willing to leave you with shame and rebuke, but if I am guilty of none I beseech you let me have Justice at your Hands. The King your Father was a Man of excellent Wisdom in his time, and accounted a second *Solomon*, and the K. of Spain *Ferdinand* my Father was reckoned one of the wisest Princes that has reigned there for many years. And doubtless they had both as wise Counsellors as any are at this day, and who could never have imagined when you and I were married that such new devises should have been invented, as to compel me to submit to the decrees of this Court, from whom I may expect to receive wrong, and may be condemned for not answering, but not to have Right administered to me, since I can have no indifferent Council assigued me to plead my Cause, but must make choice of your own Subjects, who know you

Mine

Mind, and dare not contradict your Will. Therefore I most humbly beseech you to stay till I know how my Friends in Spain will advise me; but if you will not, you may do your Pleasure. So making a low Curtesie to the King, she departed out of the Court, upon which the King bid the Crier call her back, which he did, but she refused to return, saying, *It is no indifferent Court to me, I will not go back.*

When she was gone the King declared to the Court, That she had been a loyal, loving, and obedient Wife to him, and was endued with all the good Qualities and Virtues of a Woman either of her Dignity, or any meaner Estate. After which Cardinal Woolsey said, *I humbly beseech your Highness to declare to this Audience whether I have been the first and chief Mover of this Matter to your Highness or not, for I am much suspected by all Men.* The King declared he was not, but rather advised the contrary, but that the special Cause that moved him in this Matter was a certain scruple of Conscience upon some words spoken by the Bishop of Bayon the French Ambassador, upon a Debate about a Maariage between the Lady *Mary* his only Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleans* second Son to the French King, the Bishop desiring time to consult his Master whether the Lady *Mary* were Legitimate as being born of his Brother *Arthur*'s Wife. This Discourse so affected him, considering he had no Heirs Male, they all dying as soon as born, that he judged God Almighty was displeas'd at this Match. Hereupon, considering the state of the Realm, and despairing to have any more Children by his Queen, whereby the Kingdom might be endangered for want of a Prince to succeed him, and to quiet his own Mind which was tossed with the Waves of troublesome Doubts, he desired to have the Opinion of the Learned Prelates and Pastors of the Realm whether by the Laws of God and the Land, he might take another Wife (if his first Marriage were not legal) by

by which he might have more Issue. Affirming in the presence of God that he had no dislike to the Person nor Age of the Queen, with whom he could be content to live if it were the Will of God. Nor out of Carnal Concupisence or desire of Change, but only for the settling of his Conscience.

After this the Court sat daily, where many subtle and learned Arguments touching the Lawfulness of the Marriage were handled, but the Queen appealing to the Court of Rome for deciding this Question, from which she could not be dissuaded. The King expected a Definitive Sentence on his Behalf, which the two Legates declined to give, which so enraged the King, who now perceived their Dissimulation, and that they purposely contrived Delays, that from this time he had a mortal Hatred against his false Favourite *Woolsey*, whom from a contemptible Birth and Estate, he had preferred to be Abbot of *St. Albans*, his Almoner, a Councillor of State, Bishop of *Winchester*, *Durham*, *Lincoln*, *Bath*, *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Tournay*, Arch-bishop of *York*, an Ambassador to Kings and Princes, his Chancellor and Cardinal, who by contriving this Business, thereby to render himself Gracious with the King, and to be reveng'd of his Enemies, brought Ruin at length upon himself.

For notwithstanding the King excused him from being the Author of this scruple of Conscience, yet *Woolsey* seemed at first very forward in promoting it, and to incline to have it determined according to the King's Mind, but afterward perceiving the fatal Consequences thereof, which might at length shake the Infallibility of the Papal Chair, if the Case were decided according to the Scriptures, he declined proceeding there. For if the Marriage was unlawful, then the former Dispensation of Pope *Justinus* was null and void, and if it was lawful then the Judgment of so many learned Universities as had given their Opinion to the contrary, was false.

false. In this difficulty his Colleague Campeius went out of the Kingdom before the Day of the final Determination of the Matter, leaving *Woolsey* to bear all the Weight of the King's Indignation.

Another Cause of the Cardinal's opposing the Divorce was, that the King during the Ventilation of this Knotty Case, had fallen in Love with Mrs. *Ann Bullen*, one of the Maids of Honour to Queen Katherine, and Daughter to Sir *Thomas Bullen*, (afterward Earl of *Wiltshire*) a Lady no way favourable to his Pontifical Grandeur, nor to the Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*. So that when the King discovered his great Affection for her, the Cardinal upon his Knees used many Arguments to dissuade him from it. Which the Lady had Notice of, and therefore when the King once entertained him at a great Feast, she being present, among other Discourses said, 'Sir, is it not a marvellous thing to think into what great Debt this Cardinal hath brought you, to all your Subjects? How so, quoth the King. Why, says she, there is not a Man in your whole Kingdom worth an Hundred Pounds but he hath made you a Debtor to him (meaning the Loan which the Cardinal had borrowed for the King some Years before, and which he procured the House of Commons, who were most the King's Servants, to discharge without repaying a Farthing, to the great loss of the People:) Nay, added she, how many Violencies and Oppressions is he guilty of, to your great Dishonour in divers Parts of the Realm, so that if my Lord of *Norfolk*, my Lord of *Suffolk*, my own Father, or any other Nobleman had done but half so much Wrong as he, they well deserved to lose their Heads. Then I perceive, said the King, that you are no Friend of my Lord Cardinal, VVhy Sir, quoth she, I have no Cause, no more have any others that love the King. Neither has your Grace any reason to be kind to him,

him, considering his unlawful Actions. The King said no more, but went away.

The Council and Nobility perceiving that the King's Heart was estranged from *Woolsey*, resolved if possible to depress him, for he was generally hated for his excessive Pride, Tyranny, Oppressions, Injustice, Covetousness, Debauchery, and cruel Revenge, and likewise for his secret Intrigues with the Pope and Church of *Rome*, whereby the King's Authority and Prerogative Royal in all things touching the Church and Clergy were made void. Hereupon they concluded him guilty of a *Præmunire*, and that consequently he had forfeited all his Promotions, Spiritual and Temporal, and likewise his Liberty to the King. These Crimes the Nobility drew into Articles, which were signed with their Hands, and delivered to the King, as followeth.

- I. That by subtil and indirect Means he had procur'd him, without the King's Consent, to be made a Legate, whereby he deprived the Bishops and Clergy of *England* of all Jurisdiction in Ecclesiastical Affairs.
- II. That in all his Letters to Foreign Princes he used the insolent Stile of *Ego & Rex meus*. I and my King, as if the King were his inferior or Servant.
- III. That he unchristianly and abominably flandered the Church of *England* to the Pope, affirming, *That they were Reprobates and without Faith*, and that there was an absolute necessity for him to be made a Legate, to reduce them to the true belief.
- IV. That without the King's consent he carried the Great Seal of *England* to *Flanders* only for vain Glory, and to the great damage of the Subjects of *England*.
- V. That he being filthily powdered with the French-Pox, by reason of his excessive Letchery and debauched Life, did oft presume to discourse with, and cast his unwholesome Breath into the King's Face.
- VI. That to obtain his Dignities he had conveyed out of the Realm 24000*l.* at one time, and incredible Sums at other times: And to enrich the K. again, had of his

own accord sent out Commissions for exacting infinite sums contrary to Law, which raised hatred and insurrections among the People against the King.

These with many other Articles being charged against *Woolsey*, he with his own Hand freely Subscribed to them, confessing all of them to be true, throwing himself upon the King's mercy, hoping he would have forgiven him; but finding that he disposed of his Offices, and part of his Estate, he secretly procured a Bull from the Pope to Curse and Excommunicate the King, unless he would restore him all his Dignities and Lands, declaring that the King himself nor no other authority on Earth but the Pope alone, had power to punish any Clergyman for any crime whatsoever. This Bull, with the Letters sent by several Cardinals, to encourage him not to be discouraged, assuring him of his Restoration, and that the King should be certainly crost in the busines of his Marriage, so animated the Cardinal that he did not doubt of his re-advancement, if not with, yet without the King's consent, so that he made great preparations for his Instalment to into his Archbischoprick of *York*, which he designed to solemnize with extraordinary Magnificence, having erected a stately Seat of an extraordinary height in that Cathedral, resembling the Throne of a King, and writ Letters to the Nobility and Gentry of the North, kindly inviting them to be present at his Instalment, for which he had mad provision of all manner of Dainties. These preparations being made without acquainting the King therewith, and seeming to be in contempt of him, who had been so kind to allow him the Bishopricks of *York* and *Winchester* though justly forfeited to the Crown, caused the King to put a stop to his aspiring purposes, so that he sent order to the Earl of *Northumberland* to Arrest him, and deliver him to the Earl of *Shrewsbury* Lord High Steward of the Household. The Earl accordingly went to

to his Manner of Gaywood about seven Miles from York, and coming into his Chamber told him, he Arrested him for High Treason in the King's name. The Cardinal was so astonsht that for some time he stood speechles, at length recovering himself, he said, You have no power to Arrest me, who am both a Cardinal and a Legate, and also a Peer of the See Apostolick of Rome, and ought not to be Arrested by any Temporal Power, for I am Subject to none and none I will obey. Well, said the Earl, here is the King's Commission, and therefore I charge you to submit; I remember when I was sworn Warden of the Marches you your self told me that with may staff only I might Arrest any man under the degre of a King, and now I am stronger, for I also have a Commission for what I have done. The Cardinal at length recollecting himself, well my Lord, said he I am contented to submit, but though by negligence I fell into the danger of a Præmunire, whereby I forfeited all my Lauds and Goods to the Law, yet my Person was under the King's Protection, and I was pardoned that offence, therefore I much wonder should be now Arrested, especially considering I am a Member of the Sacred College at Rome, on whom no Temporal Man ought to lay hands; Well I find the King wants good Counsellors about him. He was then kept close in one of his Chambers, and Dr Austin his Physician was at the same time Arrested for High Treason and sent to the Tower. The Cardinal's Goods were all seized, and his Servants discharged and he himself was so dejected that he continually lamented his hard fortune with such a mean and unbecoming sorrow as such naughty Spirits are cofnomy subject to when they fall into adversity, as having either good Consciences nor manly Courage to support their drooping Spirits. From hence he was carried to the Earl of Shrewsbury's to Sheffield, where he continued till the King sent Sir W. Kingston Captain of the Guard and Constable of the Tower to

ing him to *London*, the sight of whom so daunted him, that he redoubled his Lamentations, and would receive no Comfort, and much doubting he should see his Head, he took so strong a Purge, or Poisonous Potion, for fear of being brought to open Punishment for his many Enormities, as in a few days put an end to his Life at *Leicester Abbey* in his Journey toward *London*.

Being near his end he called Sir *W. Kingston* to him, and said, Pray present my Duty to his Majesty, who a Noble and Gallant Prince, and of a resolved mind; for he will venture the loss of his Kingdom rather than be contradicted his Desires. I do assure you I have sometimes kneeled three hours together to dissuade him from his Resolutions, but could never prevail; therefore you had need take care what you put into his Head, for you can never get it out again. And now Mr. *Kingston*, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King, he would never have forsaken me in my gray Hairs; but this is the just Reward that I receive for all my Pains and Labour, who neglected the Service of God, and studied only to please and humour my Prince. He then vilified the Protestants, whom he named *Hellish Luciferans*, and that the King should take care to extirate them, as being the occasion of Rebellions and insurrections in *Bohemia* and in *England* in K. *Richard*'s time, and other Places, and that these Seditions and Heresies would ruin Holy Church, and bring destruction upon the Realm. About eight a Clock at night he gave up the Ghost, as himself had predicted the day before. A Person, in whose Arms he died, affirmed, that his Body when dead was as black as Pitch, and so heavy, that six Men could hardly carry it, and stunk so horribly, that they were forced to bury him that very Night before it was day; at which time so great a Tempest of Wind, and such loathsome Stench arose that all the Torches were blown out, and the Corps being hastily thrown into

the Grave, was there left, without Tomb, Monument or Remembrance. Of which the Poet thus writes,

*And though from his own Store Woolsey might have
A Palace or a Colledge for his Grave,
Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all
Of him to be remembred were his Fall :
Nothing but Earth to Earth, no pompous weight
Upon him, but a Pebble or a Quait.*

One Historian thus concludes his Story, Thus lived and thus died this great Cardinal, who was Proud and Ambitious, Wanton and Letcherous, Rich and Covetous, a Liar and a Flatterer, a Tyrant and Merciless, forgetful of his beginning, disdainful in his Prosperity, dispirited and base in Adversity, and wretched in his End. Whose Death made the King joyful; the Nobles jocund, and the People glad; this happened in 1530. Thus died this mighty Prelate, who, though guilty of so many horrid Crimes, yet to the last hour pretended much Zeal for the Church, breathing forth Death and Murder against the Protestants, and charging them with those Rebellions and Disturbances which the Clergy only were the cause of by their violent Counsels, and their bloody, illegal and arbitrary Decrees and Practices; insomuch that Sir Richard Baker in his Chronicle of England, writing the Character of K. Henry VIII. says thus: But it will be injurious to charge all the Blood spilt in his Reign to his account. They were the bloody Bishop that made those bloody Laws, and the bloody Clergy that put them in Execution, the King oft-times scarce knowing what was done, and when he heard of some of them, he extreamly condemned their barbarous Cruelty.

REMARKS

UPON THE

Life, Actions, and Fatal Fall

OF

Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Fa-
vourite to King Henry the Eighth.

IN the Life of this great Person we may Remark, That those Noble Virtues which sometimes advance Men to Honour are not always privileges intailed to high Birth and honourable Descent. But that those men which proceed from mean Families are oftentimes indued with such singular Wisdom, Dexterity and Industry that they rise to preferment and authority. We may likewise observe, That though his Predecessor Woolsey could not bear the great Fortune to which he arrived with any moderation, but by his Pride became distastful to all men, yet our great Cromwell on the contrary carried an even Sail in all conditions, being neither elated with

Prosperity, nor deprest when fallen from it. Lastly, We may hence conclude with the Wise man, that all things happen alike to all in this life, *Woolsey* the greatest Slave to *Vice*, and *Cromwell* a Person of the most sublime Virtue, being both Favourites to the same King, both falling into disgrace with him, and both expiring by a fatal Fall.

Thomas Cromwell was the Son of a Blacksmith at *Putney in Surrey*, to whom may be applied what *Juvenal* said of *Demosthenes* the famous Orator, who had the same Original.

*Whom his poor Father, blear ey'd with the Soot
Of Sparks which from the burning Iron did shoot,
From Coals, Tongs, Anvil, and such Blacksmiths Tools,
And dirty Forge, sent to the Grammar Schools.*

His Father educated him according to his ability, and though his low condition was at first a great hindrance to his promotion, yet such was his pregnancy of wit, his solid judgment, his ready eloquence, his indefatigable diligence, his courageous Heart and his active Hand, that so many excellencies could not lye long concealed, so that though he were without Friends or Money, yet nothing being too difficult for his Wit and Industry to compass, nor for his Capacity and Memory to retain, he soon got into Employment. For having passed over his Youth with the common diversions of that state, when he grew toward man he had a great inclination to travel and learn experience in the World, and those Languages which might be serviceable to him in the future course of his Life. So going to *Antwerp* he was there retained by the English Merchants for their Secretary.

It happened about this time that the People of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire* thought fit to send to *Rome* to renew the Great and Little Pardon which formerly belonged to a Church in their Town, by which they

sound

found much advantage from those who came to have the benefit of the remission of their Sins by them, which were no small number of superstitious Zealots. And being sensible that all things at *Rome* were to be purchased only by Money, they sent one *Jeffery Chambers* with a round sum upon this notable errand, who in his Journey coming to *Antwerp*, and much doubting his ability for managing so weighty a business, he made a visit to Mr. *Cromwell*, and giving him an account of the affair, was importunate with him to accompany him. *Cromwell* knew very well the Intrigues of the Roman Court, and the unreasonable expences they must be at among those Spiritual Cormorants; however having some knowledge of the Italian Tongue, and being not yet well settled in Religion, he was at length prevailed with to adventure with him. When they arrivod at *Rome*, *Cromwell* finding it difficult to get his Pardons dispatcht, and unwilling to spend much time or money, he at length perceived nothing was to be done without making a Present of some Rarity to the Pope; and hearing he was much delighted with delicate new fownd Dishes, he prepared several fine Dishes of Jel y of divers colours according to the English fashion, which were not as yet known at *Rome*. *Cromwell* observing his time when the Pope was returned to his Pallace from Hunting, he with his English Companions, approached him with their Presents, which they introduced with singing in English the Three Mans Song (as it is called): The Pope woudring at the Song, and understanding they were Englishmen, and came not empty haaded, ordered them to be called in. *Cromwell* making low obeyfance, present his jolly junkets, being such as, he said, none but Kings and Princes in England use to Eat, desiring his Holiness to accept of them from him and his Companions, who were poor Suitors at his Court, and had presented them as Novelties proper only for his Table. Pope *Julius* observing the strangeness of

the Dishes bid a Cardinal taste them, which he liked so well and the Pope after him, that inquiring what their business was, and then requiring them to give him an account how these Jellies were made, he without delay sealed both the great and lesser Pardon, and dispatcht them.

All this while *Cromwell* had no great Sense of Religion, but was wild, youthful and without Regard to any thing that was serious, as he often declared to *Cranmer* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, being very diligent (with *Chambers*) in publishing the Pardons of *Boston* in all the Churches as he travelled, and serving some time under the D. of *Bourbon* at the Siege of *Rome*. Thus he continued for some Years, till at length by learning the New Testament of *Erasmus* by heart in his going to and from *Rome*, he began to come to a better Understanding. About this time *Cardinal Woolsey* began to grow great in *England*, ruling all under, or rather over the King, so that Persons of the briskest Wits and noted Abilities address'd themselves to him for Employments. Among whom *Cromwell* was by him preferr'd to be his Chancellor; and at the same time *Sir Tho. More* and *Stephen Gardiner* were likewise taken into the Cardinal's Family, being all three almost of one Age, one standing in Learning, not much unequal in Wit, and their Advancements arising from the same Foundation, though afterward their Studies, Dispositions and Fortune were greatly different.

The Cardinal designing to erect a famous College in *Oxford*, called then *Frideswide*, now *Christ-Church*, obtained leave from the Pope to suppress several small Monasteries and Priors in divers Parts of the Realm, and to convert the Revenues thereof to his own use. He committed the charge of this Business to *Cromwell*, who used such Industry and Expedition therein as was displeasing to some great Persons both of the Nobility and Cler-

gy. But afterward, the Cardinal, who had risen suddenly, began to fall as fast; first from his Chancellorship, which was bestowed on Sir Tho. More, and then falling into a Præmunire, his Family was dissolved; *Cromwell* being thereby out of Office, endeavoured to be retained in the King's Service; and Sir Ch. *Hales*, Master of the Rolls, though an earnest Papist, yet had so great a kindness for him, that he recommended him to the King as a Man fit to be employ'd by him; but *Cromwell* had been so misrepresented by the Popish Clergy for his forwardness in defacing their Monasteries, that the King abhor'd the very Name of him, but the L. *Russel* Earl of *Bedford* being present (whose Life *Cromwell* had saved at *Bononia* in *Italy*, where he was secretly employ'd in the King's Affairs, and was in great danger to be taken, had he not been secured by *Cromwell's* Policy) not forgetting his Benefactor, gave him an Account of the whole Matter, and since his Majesty had now to do with the Pope his great Enemy, he was of opinion there was not a fitter Instrument for the King's Purpose than he, and told him wherein: The King hereupon was willing to speak with him, of which *Cromwell* having private Notice, he got in readiness the Oath which the English Bishops took to the Pope at their Consecration; and being called in, after paying his Duty to the King, answered to all Points demanded of him, whereby he made it plainly appear, that his Royal Authority was diminish'd within his own Kingdom by the Pope and his Clergy, who having sworn Allegiance to the King, were afterward dispensed with for the same; and sworn anew to the Pope, so that he was but half King, and they but half Subjects in his own Realm, which was derogatory to his Crown, and absolutely contrary to the Common Law of *England*, and that his Majesty might therefore justly make himself rich with their Forfeited Estates, if he pleased to take the present opportunity.

The King was very attentive to his Discourse, especially the last part of it, and demanded whether he would justify what he said. He affirmed he would, producing the Oath they had taken to the Pope, which the King having read, he took his Ring off his Finger, and first admitting him into his Service, by the Advice of his Council, sent him therewith to the Convocation then sitting; *Cromwell* coming boldly with the King's Signet into the Convocation House, and placing himself among the Bishops (*Warham* being Archbishop of *Canterbury*) declared to them the Authority of the King, and the Obedience due from Subjects, especially from Bishops and Clergymen to the Laws of Land, which are necessarily provided for the Benefit of the Common-wealth, which Laws, notwithstanding they had all highly transgressed to the great Derogation of the King's Royal Dignity, and thereby brought themselves into a *Præmunire*, not only in consenting to the Power Legantine of the late *Cardinal Woolsey*, but also by swearing to the Pope, contrary to their Allegiance to their Sovereign Lord the King, whereby they had forfeited all their Spiritual and Temporal Estates real and personal. The Bishops were amazed to hear this bold Charge, and began to deny it, but *Cromwell* shewing them the very Copy of their Oath taken to the Pope at their Consecration, made the Matter so plain, that they began to shrink, and desired time to advise about it; but however before they could get clear of this *Præmunire* the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York* were obliged by Act of Parliament to pay the King one hundred eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty Pounds.

Cromwell after this came into great Favour with the King, who made him a Knight, Master of his Jewel House, and a Privy Counsellor, and soon after Knight of the Garter, Earl of *Essex* Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*; and lastly, he was constituted Vicegerent in all Ecclesiastical Affairs, by

by Virtue whereof, both in Parliament and elsewher^c, he had the precedence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: This Authority he used upon all occasions, for the extirpating Romish Superstition and Idolatry, to which he was an utter Enemy, and for which there was a fair occasion offered: For the King being enraged against the Pope for refusing to annul his Marriage with Q. Katherine, though he had the Judgment of 19 Universities on his side, he resolved to have the Matter determined by the Clergy of his owa Kingdom; and having summoned a Convocation, they after mature debate, declared the Marriage null and void from the beginning, and confirmed the King's second Marriage with Q. *Ann of Bullen*, which he had consummated some time before: And a Parliament being called, several Acts were passed against the Pope's Supremacy, whereby all Clergymen that should make any appeal to Rome, were declared guilty of a *Præmunire*, and that the King should have Power to visit, examine and reform all the Monasteries and Nunneries of the Kingdom, and should give Licenses for electing Bishops to all Vacancies, without the Pope's Consent or Approbation, and declaring the King Supream Head on Earth of the Church of *England*; after which a stop was put to the Persecutions of the Protestant Ministers, many of whom were burnt by the Popish Clergy, for want of stronger Arguments to convince them: The Nobility and Gentry were generally well satisfied with this change, but the Body of the People, who were more under the Power of the Priests, were by them possess'd with great fears of a change of Religion, being told that the King had now joain'd himself with Hereticks, and that Q. *Ann*, *Cranmer* now Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord *Cromwel* favoured them: For the Monks and Friars saw themselves left at the King's Mercy, the Trade of new Saints was now at an end, they had also some Intimations that *Cromwel* was forming a Project for suppressing Monasteries, so that in Confessions and Discourses,

they infused into the People a dislike of the King's Proceedings, which prevail'd so far upon them, as they afterward broke out into formidable Rebellion in divers parts of the Kingdom.

Cromwel by his Vicegerency, had Precedence of all next the Royal Family, and as the King came in the Pope's room, so the Vicerents Authority was in all Points the same that the Legates had in the time of Popery: The first Act of *Cromwel's* after his being Vicar-General, was (with a Delegation of the King's Supremacy to him) to visit all the Monasteries and Churches in *England*, of which the Bishops and Abbots were so jealous, that of their own accord before any Law was made about it, they swore to maintain the King's Supremacy; however the Visitation went on throughout *England*, and monstrous Disorders were found, as Sodomy, Murthers, Tools for false Coining, and great Factions and Divisions in many: The Report that was made, contained many other abominable Crimes not fit to be named; whereupon *Cromwel* procured the Parliament to pass an *Act*, that thirty Persons Spiritual and Temporal, such as his Majesty should impower under his Great Seal, should have Authority to make Laws and Ordinances Ecclesiastical, which should be obligatory upon all the Subjects of this Realm; and that all Religious Houses, either Monasteries, Priors or Nunneries, whose Revenues did not exceed 200 Pounds a Year, should be suppress'd and dissolved, and all their Lands settled on the Crown for ever: The Reasons alledged for doing this were, because they were erected upon gross abuses, the Foundation of all their Wealth being founded upon the belief of Purgatory, and of the Virtue that was in Masses to ease the Torments of departed Souls, and at last deliver them out of them; so that it past for a piece of Piety to Parents, and of care for their own Souls to endow those Houses with Lands, upon condition they should have Masses said for them, according to the value of the Gist,

Gift; which would have drawn the whole Wealth of the Nation into those Houses had not some restraint been put to that Superstition; they also persuaded the People that the Saints interceded for them, and would kindly accept Offerings made at their Shrines, and the greater they were the more earnestly would they use their Interest for them: The credulous Vulgar measuring the Court of Heaven by those on Earth, believed that Presents might be very prevalent there; so that every new Saint must have new Gifts presented him. Likewise some Images were believed to have an extraordinary Virtue, and Pilgrimages to them were much extolled, and there was great Contention among the Monasteries, every one magnifying their own Saint, Images, and Reliques above others; The Wealth these Follies brought in occasioned great Corruptions, so that the Monks and Friars were very debauch'd, and very ignorant: And the begging Friars under the appearance of Poverty, course Diet, and cloathing, gained much Esteem, and became almost the only Preachers and Confessors in the World, but not being able to conceal their Vices, they were now fallen under much Scandal, and a general Disesteem, and the King designing to create new Bishopricks, thought it necessary to make use of some of their Revenues, and that the best way to bring them into his hands, would be to expose their Vices, that so they might quite lose the Esteem they yet had with some, and it would be the less dangerous to suppress them.

Cromwel was employ'd in this Reforming Work, and for removing all Images and Superstitious Pictures out of the Churches; many of the Abbots surrendered their Monasteries, and in most Houses the Visitors made the Monks sign a Confession of their former Vices, and Disorders, in which they acknowledged their Idleness, Gluttony, and Sensuality, for which the Pit of Hell was ready to swallow them up: Others acknowledged that they were sensible that the manner of

of their former pretended Religion, consisting only in some Dumb Ceremonies whereby they were blindly led without any Knowledge of God's Laws, and being exempted from the Authority of their own Bishops and wholly subjecting themselves to a Foreign Power, who took no care to reform their abuses, had occasioned great disorders among them; but the most perfect way of Life revealed by Christ and his Apostles being now discovered to them, they thought it very fit that they should be governed by the King their Supream Head, and therefore resigned their Abbies to him; So that he in the whole, 159 Resignations were made to the King before the next Parliament, who made an Act for the Total Dissolution of all the Abbies in England, the Rents being valued at one hundred thirty two thousand, six hundred and seven pound six shillings four pence, but truly worth above ten times as much.

These Proceedings against the Pope and Holy Church caused the Rude, Ignorant, and wilful People in Lincolnshire to assemble an Army, to the number of 20000 The King levied a strong Army, and went in Person to suppress them, and approaching them, they sent him an humble Petition; that if he would re-establish the Monasteries, and the Popes Authority, they would freely lay down their Arms and return to their Duty; The King disdaining these Rusticks should dictate Politicks to him, rejected their Petition, sending them Word that if they did not instantly deliver up a 100 of the principal Rebels into his hands, he would fall upon them and Sacrifice them all to his resentment; This daring Resolution, so daunted this undisciplined Multitude, that their Leaders expecting each would deliver the other up to the King, they secretly deserted and returned home, but Captain Cobler their Chief Commander, otherwise called Dr. Makarel and some other being taken were executed according to their merits, and the Common People being left without Officers made haste home

home, and were pardoned by the King. This was succeeded by another Insurrection in the North, where 40000 got together upon the same pretences, calling themselves *The Holy Pilgrims*, who intended nothing but the establishing of the true Religion, and restoring the Rights of *Holy Church*. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were ordered to suppress these brainsick Zealots, who seemed very joyful they were to fight, not doubting of success in this Religious War, but the Night before the intended day of Battel, a little Brook which ran between the Armies, and might have been passed over dry foot, grew so broad the next Morning by a violent Rain which fell, that they could not approach each other, which being reckoned by both Parties a great Miracle, the Rebels upon promise of pardon departed home. In these commotions those men whose profession was only their Books and their Beads, mistaking the Command of Christ, *To sell their Coats and buy a Sword*, came armed into the Field, and being taken, several Abbots, Monks and Priests were executed,

The Kingdom being again settled in peace *Cromwell* proceeded in the Work of Reformation, and because the People seemed discontented that the abuse of these Monasteries should be turn'd to the utter ruin of them, from whence they used to have relief and Alms, therefore *Cromwell* thought fit to make them sensible of the Cheats and Tricks which the Priests had imposed upon them. And many Impostures about Relicks and Wonderful Images or Roods were now discovered, to which Pilgrimages had been formerly made. As at Reading where they shewed the Wing of the Angel that brought over thither the point of the Spear which pierced our Saviour's side: And so many pieces of the Cross were found in several Abbies as joined together would have made 2 large Crosses. The Rood of Grace at *Boxley* in *Kent* which had drawn so many Pilgrims to it, was brought to *St. Paul's Cross*, which by many springs used to bow down

down and lift up it self, to rowl the Eyes, shake the Head, Hands, and Feet, move the Lips, seem pleased, or angry, by bending the Brows, which the credulous multitude imputed to a Divine Power, but was now made appear to be a Cheat, and the Springs openly shewed that governed its several motions. Likewise the Images of our Lady of *Walsingham* and *Iswich*, adorned with rich Jewels, and divers others both in *England* and *Wales*, were removed out of the Churches, and being brought to *London* were openly burnt in the presence of the Lord *Cromwell* at *Chelsey*. The Blood of Christ was shewed in a Glass Vial at *Hales* in *Glocestershire*, and the Priests said it was not visible to any that were in mortal Sin; so that after the People had well paid it became visible to them and the deluded Souls went away well satisfied that they were now free from any damnable transgression. But this was proved to be the Blood of a Duck renewed every Week, and put into a Glass thick on one side and thin on the other, so that till the Pilgrim had offered what the Priest thought fit, the dark side was turned to him, and afterward the light side. Several such Impostures were discovered, which tended much to undeceive the People. But the richest Skrine in *England* was that of *St. Thomas Becket* that great Rebel to K. *Henry II.* and for whose death he severely whipt himself a great way to the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, where *Becket* was killed by four of K. *Henry's* officius Servants, and thereupon Canonized a Saint, to whose Altar greater Oblations were made than to that of our Saviour or the Virgin *Mary*. Every fiftieth year there was a Jubilee and an Indulgence granted to all that came and visited his Tomb, who were sometimes thought to be an hundred thousand on that occasion, the prints of their kneeling and devotion remaining in the Stones to this day. So that it was immensely Rich with Gold, Jewels, Plate and Money, the Gold only being so heavy that it filled two Chests, which required eight men a piece to carry them out of the Church, The

Thomas Cromwel E. of Essex. 135

Timber work of this Shrine was covered with Plates Gold, Damasked and Imbossed with Wires of Gold, garnished with Images, Angels, great Orient Pearls and Precious Stones, the chief whereof was a rich Jewel offered by Lewis the 7th of France who came over in Pilgrimage to visit this Tomb, and to obtain that for the future no Passenger should be drowned betwixt Dover and Callice. It was valued to be the richest Jewel in Europe. St. Thomas's Skull which had been so much Worshipped was proved an Imposture, for the true Skull was with the rest of his Bones in the Coffin, and were now so mixt with other Bones that it had been a Miracle indeed to have distinguisht them. Then the Axes and Hammers went to work in pulling down the Nests of Superstition and Idolatry, whose number as Camden reckons them were 645. Monasteries, 90. Colleges 110. Hospitals, and 2374. Chauntries and free Chappels, and their Lands and Revenues being by Act of Parliament settled on the Crown, the King by the advice of the L. Cromwell politickly exchanged them for others with his Nobility and Gentry, allowing them good Bargains for their Incouragement, many of whose Estates do now consist wholly of them or were greatly inlarged by them, and the restoration of them to their former uses was thereby rendred so impracticable, that all the flaming Zeal of Queen Mary for Popety was never able to effect any thing of that kind. And this may be thought to have been one strong Barrier and Securitie of this Nation against Popish Slavery to this very day, notwithstanding the many attempts that have since been made to reduce us back to that House of bondage.

The Churches being thus cleansed from Rubbish, the magnanimous L. Cromwel resolved to place better Ornaments in them, and sent out Injunctions, requiring the Clergy to set up English Bibles in their Churches, and to encourage all to read them: Exhorting the People not to dispute about the sense of difficult Places, but to leave that to better Judgments.

Ministers

Ministers were commanded to teach the People the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English, and that once every Quarter there should be a Sermon to declare the true Gospel of Christ, and to exhort the People to Charity, and not to trust to other Men's Works, to Pilgrimages, or Relicks, or telling their Beads, which was only Superstition. Also the Folly of offering Candles to Images in Divine Worship was Idolatry and Popery, and praying to Saints unnecessary. These struck at some of the main Points of Popery, but the free use of the Scriptures gave the deadliest blow of all. Yet all the Clergy submitted without murmuring.

The Death of Q. *Ann Bullen* (who was beheaded some time before for several pretended Crimes, which she utterly denied at the Scaffold, and of which most thought her Innocent) gave fresh hopes to the Popish Clergy, that a stop would have been put to any further Reformation, of which she was reckon'd a great Encourager. The Succession of the Crown was now altered by Parliament, by which Q. *Mary* was declared Illegitimate as born of Q. *Katherine* in unlawful Marriage, and a new Oath imposed upon all the People to acknowledge the Children of Q. *Ann* to be Rightful Heirs to the Crown, and the leaving one Daughter (who was afterward the renowned Q. *Elizabeth*) that Party had hopes that she being dead, the Lady *Mary* would succeed to the Crown, to which end she was persuaded to submit her self to the King, and own him as Supream Head of the Church of England, which she had hitherto refused. But within 20 days after this Tragedy was over, the King married the Lady *Fane Seymour*, Daughter of Sir *John Seymour*, by whom he had the most excellent Prince *Edward*, who succeeded him, though within few days after the good Queen died. The birth of a Son blasted the Papists Expectations, and therefore *Gardiner, Bonner* and the rest of that Clergy seemed now very zealous in promoting the Injunctions that Cromwell

wel had lately published. Yet *Gardiner* still retaining a secret hatred against the Reformation, he by his Artifices and Flatteries prevailed much with the King, persuading him that his Zeal against Heresie was the greatest Advantage that his Cause in renouncing the Pope could have over all Europe. Which meeting with the King's own Persuasion of the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, caused him to sit in Person upon the Trial of *John Lambert*, a Learned Man, who because he would not recant his opinion about Transubstantiation, was cruelly burnt in *Smithfield*; and in the next Parliament an Act was made for making it Death not to consent to the six Articles following (which were after called the six bloody Articles.) I. That after the Words of Consecration the real and natural Body and Blood of Christ was in the Sacrament. II. That Communion in both kinds was not necessary to Salvation. III. That Priests by the Laws of God ought not to marry. IV. That Vows of Chastity are to be observed. V. That private Masses were agreeable to the Word of God. VI. That Auticular Confession was necessary to be retained. Against most of these *Cranmer* argued several days, and *Cromwel* promoted *Bonner* to the Bishoprick of *Hereford* to be a faithful second to *Cranmer* in his pious Designs, though he afterward proved a violent Persecutor; and indeed *Cranmer* wanted support against the other Bishops, who were very furious against some things not yet abolished. Upon which Letters were writ to the Bishops, to take care that as the People should be rightly instructed, so they should not be offended with too many Novelties. Thus was *Cranmer*'s Interest so low, that he had none but *Cromwel* to depend on. There was not a Queen now in the King's Bosom so support them, and the refusal of owning these Articles, caused the death of many Protestants, as the denying the King's Supremacy cut off several Papists; so that at the same time Protestants were burnt on one side of *Smithfield*, and

and Papists hanged on the other, which made Foreigners admire what Religion K. Henry was of.

Cromwel now contrived how the King should be engaged in a nearer Alliance with the Protestant Princes of Germany; with whom he had already made a League, and who was acknowledged its Patron, he sending over an hundred thousand Crowns a year for the support of it; all ingaging, That they would join against the Pope as the common Enemy, and set up the true Religion. Now, that the King might be prevailed upon both by Affection and Interest to carry on what he had thus begun, Cromwel resolved to bring about a Match between the King and the Lady Ann, Sister to the Duke of Cleve, whose other Sister Frederick Duke of Saxony, a zealous Protestant, had espoused. And the King unwilling to live any longer a Widower, both the Emperor and the King of France proposed Matches to him; but Reasons of State inlined him powerfully to that with the Lady Ann; her Father had before treated with the Prince of Lorrain about marrying her, but it went no farther than a Contract between the two Fathers. And the famous Painter Hans Hoblin much favoured her in the Picture which was sent to the King, who never liked the Original so well as he did that. The Duke of Saxe dissuaded the Match, because the King was going backward in the Reformation, as appear'd by his enacting the six bloody Articles; but Cromwel carried it on with the greatest Vigour. Some write that the Lady was handsome enough, but could speak only Dutch which the King understood not, neither had she learned Musick and was also so stiff in her Carriage as no way suited the King's Temper. However the Marriage was concluded, and arriving at Rochester the King was so impatient to see her that he went thither incognito but was much damp't at first sight; for he thought her deameanour so rude, that he ask'd whether she had brought over a Flanders Mare to him, and thence forward had an absolute aversion for her Person: No

the

ther had he any kindness for her Religion, and many Vertues, she being a Devout Protestant. So that he resolved to break the Match if possible; but for fear of disobliging the German Princes, his Affairs making their Friendship necessary to him at this time, to oblate the designs of the Emperor, Pope and French King now projecting against him, he married her, but express'd his dislike of her so plainly that all about him took notice of it, and the day after he told *Cromwel* that he had not consummated his Marriage with her, and did believe he should never do it, complaining of ill Smells about her, and he suspected she was not a Virgin, which so much increased his dislike that he thought he should be never able to endure. *Cromwel* endeavoured in vain to overcome these Prejudices, so that though the King lived with her five Months, and lay often in Bed with her, yet was his aversion rather increased than abated.

About this time all the ground that the Reformati^{on} gained after so much had been lately lost, was a Liberty for all private Persons to have Bibles in their Houses, the managing of which was put into *Cromwel's* Hands by a particular Patent. And a new Parliament being called, as the Lord Chancellor declared the Matters of State to them, so the Vicegerent *Cromwel* spake to them concerning Religion, telling them, That the King desired nothing so much as an entire Union among all his Subjects, but that some Incendiaries opposed it as much as he promoted it, and that rashness on one side, and inveterate Superstition on the other had raised great Dissentions, which were inflamed by the reproachful Names of Papist and Heretick, and though they had now the Word of God in all their hands, yet they rather studied to justifie their Passions than amend and govern their Lives by it. To remove which; the King had apointed several Bishops to settle the Doctrine and Ceremonies, and to publish an Exposition

sition of the Doctrine of Christ without corrupt Mixtures, and yet to retain such Ceremonies as should be thought necessary, resolving afterward to punish all Transgressors of either side. At this time *Cromwel* was created Earl of *Essex*, which shews that the King's dislike of the Queen was not the chief cause of his Ruin, otherwise he had not now advanced him.

The Popish Bishops (especially *Gardiner*) being glad to be any way rid of a Protestant Queen, heightned the King's aversion to the Lady *Ann* by all means possible, and persuaded the King to move for a Divorce. The Queen seemed little concern'd at it, and express'd much willingness to discharge him from a Marriage so unacceptable to him. The Lords address'd to him that he would suffer the Marriage to be examined, which being granted, a Commission was sent to the Convocation to discuss it, and Witnesses being heard, it appeared that her Pre-contract with the Prince of *Lorrain* was not fully cleared; and that the King had married her against his Will; and not having given an inward and compleat consent, he had never consummated the Marriage, so that no Issue could be expected from the Queen. Whereupon the Convocation publish'd an authentick Instrument under the Seals of the two Archbishops, declaring to the Christian World, that the King's Marriage with the Lady *Ann* of *Cleve* was a nullity, void, frustrate, and of none effect, because the said Lady under her own hand, had, upon Examination, confess'd, that the King never had, nor could perform to her that Benevolence, which by a Husband was due to a Wife. This Sentence was confirmed by Parliament, adding that it was lawful for the King to marry another Wife, and for the Lady *Ann* of *Cleve* to take another Husband according to the Laws of Holy Church. And all such, as by writing, printing, or speaking did maintain the contrary, should be punish'd for High Treason.

During

During this Transaction a sudden turn happened at Court. The L. *Cromwel* was arrested for High Treason by the Duke of *Norfolk* in the Council Chamber at *Whitehall*, and committed Prisoner to the Tower: The lowness of his Birth procured him many Enemies among the Nobility, to see a Blacksmiths Son prefer'd to such Dignity; he being at the same time Lord Vicegerent, Lord Privy Seal, and Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, Earl of *Essex*, and Master of the Rolls. The Popish Clergy hated him mortally, the suppression of *Abbies*, and the Injunctions about Reformation in the Church, being imputed to his Counsels: And the King being freed from the fear of the Confederacy betwixt the Emperor and French King against him, who could not agree upon the Terms, *Cromwel's* Counsels now became useless to him, and he hoped the making him a Sacrifice might somewhat appease the People, who were much disturbed at some late Proceedings. And he now intended a Match with *Katherine Howard*, Neice to the Duke of *Norfolk* a Papist, and an Enemy to the Reformation. The King was likewise told, that *Cromwel* was against the six Articles, and encouraged those that opposed them.

Of the truth of the last we read this following Passage. About two years before, the King ordered Archbishop *Cranmer* to put in writing all the Arguments he had used in Parliament against the six Articles: He likewise sent *Cromwel* and the Duke of *Norfolk* to dine with him, and assure him of the continuance of his favour and kindness to him. At Table they acknowledged that *Cranmer* had opposed the Articles with much Prudence and Learning, expressing a great value for him, and telling him that those who differed from his Opinion could not but esteem him highly for his worth, and since the King seemed to approve of them, he need fear nothing. *Cromwel* added, That the King had so much respect for him above his other Counsellors, that he would not give ear

ear to any complaints against him, and that as Cardinal *Wolsey* lost his friends by Pride, the other gained upon his Enemies by his Humility and Moderation. The Duke of Norfolk replied, he could speak best of the Cardinal, having been his man so long. *Cromwell* replied warmly, That he never liked his Master, but said he, If he had been Pope I never intended to have gone into Italy with him, as you may Lord Duke designed to have done. The Duke swore he lied and gave him ill Language, which put all the Company into disorder, and they were never friends afterward. *Cranmer* drew up his Reasons against the six Articles, and gave them to his Secretary to transcribe farrily for the King's use, but crossing the *Thames*, met with a very odd accident. For a Bear being baited near the River broke loose, and running into the Water overturned the Boat wherein the Secretary was, whereby his Book fell into the *Thames*, and was taken up by the Bearward, who shewed it to a Priest; who perceiving it was a Refutation of the six Articles told the Bearward that the Author would certainly be hanged. The Secretary coming to demand his Book, which he said was the Archbishops, and offering him a Crown to Drink for saving it, the Fellow being an obstinate Papist, replied, he would not part with it for 500 Crowns. the Secretary acquainting *Cromwell* with it, he sent for the Bearward, who guessing at the business brought the Book with intent to have delvered it to *Stephen Gardiner* or *Sir A. Brown*, both invererate Enemies to Protestantancy. *Cromwell* seeing him, snatcht the Book from him, and giving it to the Secretary, Here, says he, I know this is your hand, take it with you, and Sirrah, say he to the Fellow, you deserve to be punisht for detaining a Privy Counsellor's Book when demanded, you being fitter to meddle with Bears than matters of State. And so *Cranmer* was preserved from the danger of Fire, which at this time threatned him by Water.

The blow at *Cromwel* was suddenly given, and being in disgrace, he had the common Lot of discarded Favourites, to be forsaken by his Friends, and insulted by his Enemies, of whom *Gardiner* was the most implacable; only *Cranmer* stuck to him, and in a Letter to the King on his behalf, assured him, He always found the L. *Cromwel* loved his Majesty above all things, and that he had served him with such Fidelity and Success, that he was of the Opinion, no King of England had ever more faithful Minister, wishing the King might find a Councillor, as willing and able to do him Service as he was: But the King being freed from his Marriage, and having made K. *Howard* his Queen in a few Weeks after, the D. of *Norfolk* had now an opportunity to be revenged on him, she being Daughter to the Lord *Edmund Howard*, Brother to the Duke: So that from henceforth, the King looked discontentedly upon his former intimate Favourite and Counsellor, as being told he was the cause of all his late Troubles.

Those who had long desired this Downfall preceiving this Alteration, drew up a long Bill of Attainder against him in the House of Lords, which was read twice in one day, and sent to the Commons, who after ten days debate passed it, whereby he was condemned for High Treason and Heresie, by that unjust way of Attainder without coming to an Answer, wherein it was set forth, That though the King had raised him from a low Estate to high Dignities, yet it appeared by many Witnesses, who were Persons of Honour, that he was the most corrupt Traytor that ever was known; That joining with the last Q. *Ann*, he had favoured the Lutherans above measure, and so strongly supported them against the Catholick Prelates and Priests of this Kingdom, that when he was told by some of the Clergy, that they doubted not but the King would shortly curb their Presumption, the L. *Cromwel* replyed That he was sure of the King; and that about two Years before, he had laid, the

the Preaching of Barnes and other Hereticks was good, and that he would not turn, though the King did turn, but if the King turned, he would fight in Person against him and all that turned, and drawing out his Dagger, he wisht he might be pierced to the Heart with it if he did not do it: And that if he lived a Year or two longer it should not be in the King's Power to hinder it. That he had set many at liberty who were condemned or suspected of Misprision of Treason. That he had given Licenses for Transporting out of the Kingdom things prohibited by Proclamation, had granted Pasports without searching, and had dispersed many erroneous Books contrary to the belief of the Sacrament, and had said, that every man might administer it as well as the Priest. That he had Licensed several Preachers suspected of Heresie, and had discharged many committed on that Account; that he had many Hereticks about him, and had discouraged Informers. He was likewise charged with Bribery and Oppression, and that when he head some Lords were consulting about him, he threatned he would raise great disturbances in England.

Many of these things were charged upon him in general, but no particulars produced: And the words about the King being sworn to have been spoken two years before, it was strange they should be so long concealed, considering the powerful Adversaries which he had. As to the Licenses, it was thought he had the King's Order for what he did in it. Bribery and Oppression seem to be added only to render him odious, who always appeared of a quite contrary Temper; so that Authors think the chief Cause of the King's Indignation was, that having discovered his Affection for the Lady *Howard* to him, Cromwel used some Words in defence of Q: Ann of Cleve and in dislike of the L. Katherine, which somuch offend ed him, that he delivered him up into the Hands of his Enemis, who thirsted for his Blood; and fearing

he would clear himself from all their Calumnies by a Legal Trial, they Tried, Judged and Condemned him by a way which seems both against Nature Reason, and Justice, not being suffered to appear, or speak a word in his own defence.

When he was Prisoner in the Tower, Commissioners were sent to examine him, who found him in a very composed frame, bearing his affliction with a Patient and Christian Constancy of Mind, not at all ruffled with the suddenness of his Fall, for he foresaw the Tempest before it came, and prepared for the same. And being sensible of the vigilance, power and malice of his adversaries, he called his Servants before him, and told them that he found himself upon a very uncertain foundation, and that a storm was approaching, and therefore charged them to manage all their affairs with Uprightness and Justice, that so he might not suffer by any misdemeanors of theirs. He entertained the Commissioners with much gravity and freedom, and answered all their Interrogatories with great moderation and discretion, being as well informed in all matters Ecclesiastical or Civil as themselves. He once desired one of these Commissioners supposed to be Gardiner to carry a Letter from him to the King, who replied, he would carry no Letter to the King from a Traytor. Then said the L. Cromwel, Pray deliver a Message to him by word of Mouth. This he consented to, provided it were not against his Allegiance; 'Well my Lords, said he to the rest, pray be witnesses of what this Lord hath promised; Pray than present my duty to the King, and tell him, That when he hath tried and proved you so thoroughly as I have done, he will find you the safest man that ever he had about him. Before this he writ a Letter to the King which none durst undertake to deliver; but Mr. Sadler his old friend, willing to do him a kindness, first went to understand the King's pleasure whether he would permit him to do it, which the King granting, he presented the Letter

who commanded him to read it thrice over, seeming much affected with it. And some write that after his death the King being in a great exigency and not knowing whom to trust or with whom to advise, he much lamented his Death, saying, *O that I had my Cromwell again*; But the Act of Parliament being passed, he could not conveniently dispense with it, and his Enemies being so many and mighty, was obliged to take him off; So that July 28. 1541. he was brought to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, where he spake thus to the multitude that surrounded him.

' I am come hither to dye and not to clear my self,
' as some peradventure may think I will. I am con-
' demned by the Law to dye, and thank my Lord
' God that hath appointed me this death for mine of-
' fenses: For since the time that I came to years of
' discretion I have lived a Sinner, and have offended
' my Lord God, for which I ask him heartily for-
' givenes. It is not unknown to many of you that
' I have been a great Traveller in the World, and
' being of mean degree was called to an high estate,
' and since I came thereto I have offended my Prince,
' for which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and be-
' seech you all to pray to God to forgive me. And
' now I pray you all to bear me record that I die in
' the Catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of
' my Faith, nor in any Sacrament of the Church.
' Many have flandered me and reported that I have
' been an Hearer of such as have maintained evil
' opinions, which is untrue. But I confess that as
' God by his Holy Spirit doth instruct us in the Truth
' so the Devil is ready to seduce us, and I have
' been seduced, but bear me witness that I die in the
' Catholick Faith of the Holy Church, and I heart-
' ily desire you to pray for the King's Grace, that he
' may long live with you in health and prosperity,
' and that after him his Son Prince Edward that good-
' ly Branch, may long reign over you. And once
' again I desire you to pray for me that so long as
life

Life remaineth in this Flesh, I may never waver in
my Faith.

Then kneeling down on the Scaffold, he prayed
thus :

O Lord Jesus, who art the only health of all Men living, and the everlasting Life of them which dye in thee; I wretched Sinner submit my self wholly to thy most blessed Will: And being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed to thy Mercy, I now willingly leave this frail and wicked Flesh, so sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last Day in the Resurrection of the Just. I beseech thee most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy Grace strengthen my Soul against all Temptations, and defend me with the Buckler of thy Mercy against all the Assaults of the Devil. I acknowledge, that there is in my self no hope of Salvation, but all my Confidence, hope and trust is in thy most merciful Goodness: I have no Merits nor good Works that I may alledge before thee. Of Sins and evil Works, alas! I see a great heap. But yet through thy Mercy I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their Sins, but wilt take and accept me for Righteous and Just, and to be an Inheritor of Everlasting Life: Thou merciful Lord wert born for my sake; Thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; Thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake; All thy holy Acts and Works thou wroughtest for my sake: Finally, Thou gavest thy most precious Body and Blood to suffer on the Cross for my sake. Now most merciful Saviour, let all these things profit me, who hast given thyself for me. Let thy Blood cleanse and wash away the Spots and Foulness of my Sins. Let thy Righteousness hide and cover my Unrighteousness. Let the Merits of thy Passion and Blood make Satisfaction for my Sins. Give me O Lord thy Grace, that the Faith of my Salvation in thy Blood waver not in me,

me, but may be firm and constant, that the hope of thy Mercy and Everlasting Life in me may not decay, nor thy Love wax cold in me. Finally, That the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of Death. Grant O merciful Saviour, that when Death hath shut up the Eyes of my Body, yet the Eyes of my Soul may still behold and look upon thee, and when death hath taken away the use of my Tongue, yet my Heart may cry and say unto thee, Lord into thy Hands I commend my Soul, Lord Jesus receive my Spirit. Amen.

After this he laid down his Head on the Block, which was cut off at three or four Strokes by an unskilful and Butcherly Executioner. Thus fell this Magnanimous Worthy, who rose meerly by the strength of his natural Parts, for his Education was suitable to his mean Extraction. He carried his greatness with extraordinary Moderation, and his Zeal for the Reformation created him many potent Adversaries, who continually sought for Matter against him, till in the end by Lies, Falshood, and Flattery they had thrown him out of the King's Favour. He mixed none of the Superstitions of the Church of Rome in his Devotions at his Death, and used the Word Catholick Faith to express the antient Apostolick Doctrines of Christ, in opposition to Popish Novelties. With him fell the Office of Vicegerent, and none since ever had that Character. The Miseries that besel the new Q. Katherine, and the D. of Norfolk and his Family, were thought to be the judgments of Heaven upon them for their cruel prosecuting this Unfortunate Favourite. The Queen being a few Months beheaded for her former lewd Life, together with the Lady Rochford her Bawd (as the A. of Parliament called her) who had been very instrumental in the ruin of Q. Ann Bullen, and of her own Husband the L. Rochford; and being now discovered to be so vile a Woman, it tended much to raise both their Reputations again. The D. of Norfolk, and his

Son the E. of Surrey were both condemned for High Treason a few years after, and the Son was beheaded, the Father escaping by the death of K. Henry.

To conclude, The L. Cromwel had several eminent Virtues so conspicuous in him, that they ought not to be concealed. His gratitude eminently appeared toward one Frescobald an Italian Merchant, who had relieved him in his Necessities in that Country, which he rewarded with so excessive a Generosity, as several eminent Pens have strove who should most celebrate the same, and of which I have given a particular Relation in a Book called, *Unparalleld Varieties, or the transcendent Effects of Gratitude, &c.* of the like value with this. His Charity was very apparent, in that foreseeing himself declining in the King's Favour, he like a kind and loving Master provided beforehand for almost all his Servants, and gave 12 Children of his Musick 20 pound apiece: And delivered many out of danger for having broken Popish Constitutions. His Humility was eminent in several Instances, particularly that he and Archbishop Cranmer riding once in State through Cheapside, Cromwel seeing a poor Woman to whom he formerly owed Money, called her to him, and bid her go to his House, where he not only discharged the Debt, but settled a Pension of 4 l. a year upon her during Life. At another time observing a poor Man at the Court sweeping the Cloysters and ringing the Chappel Bell, he in the Company of several Lords called him by his Name, and said, This poor Man's Father was a great Friend to me, having given me many a Meals Meat in my Necessity, therefore I am resolved to provide for him as long as I live, which he did accordingly. His Wisdom and Policy in State Affairs was very obvious in the management of all Treaties and Negotiations both at home and abroad, with the utmost Prudence, Dexterity and Success. Lastly and Principally, his fervent Zeal for the true Religion was sufficiently discovered by the Injunctions, Proclamations

and Articles published by his Advice, for promoting the same. In a Word, many Ages before and since have not been blest with two such excellent Persons as the Lord Cromwel and Archbishop Cranmer, who both flourished together at this time.



Remarks upon the Life, Actions, and Fatal Fall of
Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Favourite to
Queen Elizabeth.

BY the fall of this great Man we may observe, that the Love of a People may be of no less dangerous Consequence to a Subject than their hatred: Nor is the affection of a Prince to a Favourite to be much relied on, since their Love is often inconstant, and their anger deadly. Of both which we can scarce find a more pregnant Instance than in this eminent Favourite.

Robert

Robert Devereux was born in 1566, and was not above ten years of Age when his Father Walter, Earl of Essex and Earl Marshal of Ireland deceased at Dublin, pre-admonishing his Son never to forget the 36 Year of his Age, as the utmost term of Life, which neither himself nor his Father before him survived, and which his Son never attained to. After his Father's death he was under the Tuition of the Pious and Learned Dr. Whitgift, and at 16 years performed his publick Acts as Master of Arts. His first advancement at Court was procured by the B. of Leicester his Father in Law, and was thought to be desigued not so much out of Love to him as Envy against Sir Walter Raleigh. His Descent was honourable, his Title being derived from Evereux, a City in Normandy. His Title of Lord came by Marriage with Cicily, the Daughter of W. Bourchier, whose Grandmother was Sister to King Edward IV. whose great Grandmother was Daughter to Thomas of Woodstock, Son of K. Edward III. born of one of the Daughters of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hartford and Essex, whereupon the Title of Viscount Hartford was bestowed upon his great Grandfather Walter, by King Edward VI. and that of Earl of Essex upon his Father by Q. Elizabeth; so that this high Birth might fill him with some ambitious thoughts. He was with much ado made Master of the Horse, the Queen being displeased with his Mother, but when by his observance he had procured her favour, she forgave a great Debt that his Father owed her, and made him a Knight of the Garter and a Privy Counsellor, when he was scarce 23 years old. His first appearance in Action was at Tilbury Camp in 1588. being made by the Queen General of the Horse, to whom in fight of the Souldiery and People she discovered a more than ordinary kindness.

And now Q. Elizabeth to follow the blow she had given the Spanish Armado, the next year sends Sir F. Drake and Sir J. Norrie with a Fleet, and some For-

ces to the aid of *Don Antonio*, who pretended a Right to the Crown of *Portugal*; but *Philip II.* of *Spain* being both ambitious and powerful, sent the Duke of *Alva* with an Army thither, who drove this new King out of his Country, and after many skirmishes wholly possessed himself of that Kingdom for his Master. The English Forces landed near the *Groin* in *Gallicie* and took the lower Town. During this Voyage the E. of *Essex* unwilling to be idle when honour was to be gotten, went privately to Sea without the Queen's knowledge or consent, and joined the Fleet: At which she was much disturbed, laying, This young Fellow is so ventrous that he will certainly be knockt on the Head one time or other. The English likewise took *Peniche* and another Town in *Portugal*, and approached *Lisbon*, took the Castle of *Castays* and burnt the Town of *Vigo*, but finding that the *Portuguese* did not declare for *Don Antonio* as he expected, sickness likewise increasing among the Souldiers, the Fleet returned home.

After this the Popish Princes of *France* entring into a League that they would have no Protestant Reign over them, raised an Army against the K. of *Navar* their rightful Sovereign, who craving aid of the Q. she readily assisted him with Money and men under the E. of *Essex*, who gave sufficient proof of his Valour upon all occasions, his Brother *Walter* being slain before the Walls of *Roan*. Upon which the Earl challenged *Villars* the Governor of the City to a single Combat, which he durst not accept. The Earl a while after returned to *England*, being informed by his Friends that many envious Courtiers were contriving to throw him out of the Queen's favour.

In 1595. Arch-Duke *Albert* Governor of the Spanish *Netherlands* for the King of *Spain*, suddenly Besieged *Gallicie* and took it, the news whereof so surprized the Queen, because of the near Neighbourhood of this Potent Enemy, that to divert the Tempest from *England*, She and the States of *Holland* instantely

stantly set out a Navy of 140 Ships, wherein were imbarqued about seven thousand Soldiers and as many Seamen, commanded in chief by the Earl of Essex and Charles Howard joint Admirals, with several other Inferior Commanders of great Courage and Conduct, who Sailing to Cadiz, in a short time took both the Town and Castle, no man of Note being lost in this Expedition but Capt. Wingfield; and having Ransackt the Town and Island whereon it is built, demolished the Forts, burnt most of the Houses, filled their Ships with Plunder, and burnt several Spanish Vessels, the Fleet returned victoriously home. The King of Spain having lost in this Gallant Expedition, 13 of his best men of War, 40 Merchants Ships from New Spain, 100 Cannon, with such vast Stores of Ammunition and Naval Provisions, so that he was not able to fit out another Fleet for many years after; and the Spaniards themselves gave this Character of the English, That they were Hereticks in Religion, but in all other affairs Warlike, Politick, and truly Noble. This happy Success advanced Essex in the opinion both of the Queen, Soldiery and Common People, though his making so many Knights, some of them of very mean fortunes, produced this Libel.

A Gentleman of Wales, with a Knight of Gales,

And a Laird of the North Countrey:

A Yeoman of Kent upon a Rack Rent,

Will buy them out all three.

The Queens indulgence increasing by this fortunate Expedition, he grew wanton with her favours, and was offendid if she prefer'd any but those recommend'd by himself; as particularly Sir F. Vere being made Governour of the Brill in Holland, and Sir Robert Cecil Secretary of State, both which he had design'd for other Persons, he discovered such a resentment for it, that his Enemies and Enviers turn'd it to his disadvantage. Essex is now made Admiral of a Fleet, sent against the Islands of Azores belonging to the Spaniard, where the Islands of Graciosa and Faial

yielded to him ; and retarding, he who would be sole Favourite, had great contentions with Sir Walter Rawleigh, Cecil, &c. and likewise with Charles Howard who was now made Earl of Nottingham for his valour at *Cales* ; yet the Queen's affections so blinded her that she passed by many Indigaties offered her by *Essex*, and to pacifie him created him Earl Marshal of England.

In 1598. some Proposals being offered for a Peace with *Spain*, the Earl of *Essex* opposed it, urging the Spanish King's Ambition for gaining the Universal Monarchy, his inveterate Hatred against the Queen and the Kingdom, his Maxim, That no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks, and that the Pope could dispense with him to break all Leagues when for his Advantage ; so that these and many such cogent Reasons made a Peace with him impracticable. But other great Courtiers, whether for Reasons of State, or that they had received some Spanish Gold, were much displeased, and the Lord Burleigh told him, That he breathed nothing but War and Slaughter, and turning to the Psalms he bid *Essex* read that Verse, as seeming to presage his future Fate, *Blood-thirsty Men shall not live out half their days*. Yet many much admired his Conduct, as really designing nothing but the Honour and Security of his Country. However, the Queen and *Essex* were of a contrary Opinion, both as to the Peace, and about a fit Person to be sent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*. The Q. judged *W. Knolles* the Earl's Uncle proper for the Imployment, *Essex* affirmed *George Carew* to be much fitter, and because he could not persuade the Queen to be of his Mind, he contemptibly turn'd his Back and seem'd to scoff at her. At which she growing out of patience stept forward, and giving him a sound box on the Ear, bid him be gone with a Vengeance ; whereupon he laid his Hand upon his Sword, but the Admiral coming up to him he vow'd and swore, ' That he neither would nor could

could not put up so great an Indignity, which he would never have taken from her Father King Henry, much less from the Hand of a Woman; and then in a great Rage he withdrew from Court. The Lord Keeper sent him several Letters, exhorting him to come and ask the Queen Pardon, whom if he had justly wronged he could not but make her Satisfaction, and if she had wronged him, yet his Prudence, Duty, and Religion should oblige him to submit himself to so good a Queen, since there is a great Inequality between a Prince and a Subject. Essex answered very haughtily to these Advices, and his Followers published his usual Expressions upon this Account. As That he appealed for Justice from the Queen to God Almighty: That no Tempest rageth more than the Indignation of an impotent Prince: That the Queens Heart was hardened; I know, said he, what I have to do as I am a Subject, but as I am Earl, and Marshal of England, I cannot live as a Servant and Bondslave; if I should confess my self guilty I should both injure Truth, and God the Author of Truth; I have received a Dart through my whole Body; it is absolutely a Sin to serve, after having received so great a Disgrace; cannot Princes err? Cannot they injure their Subjects? Is their earthly Power infinite? 'Tis the Fool, says Solomon, that being struck laughs; they that receive benefit by the Errors of Princes, let them bear the Injuries of Princes; let them that believe the Queens Power Infinite, believe that God is not Omnipotent; as for my part I being rent in pieces by Injuries have long enough endured Bitterness of Soul for them.

Yet after all, the Queens Passion for him soon admitted of an easie submission, so that he was pardoned, and restored to Favour by her, who could be angry with him, but could never hate him, and soon after made him Lord Deputy of Ireland (which

was then in an ill Condition by the Rebellion of the Natives,) and impowered him with so ample a Commission as was thought to be contrived by his Enemies, on purpose by inflaming his Ambition, to procure his Ruin, for he had liberty to pardon or punish the Irish Rebels suitable to his own Will ; and to reward with Lands or Honours all he esteem'd worthy. These were such Flowers of the Crown, as it design'd by his Fnnemies to deck that Head they meant to Sacrifice to their Malice and Revenge. Upon his arrival in *Ireland* the Earl spent so much time in subduing the petty Rebels, while he neglected *Tyrone*, the Chief, with whom instead of fighting he treated and made a Truce, that the Queen unsatisfied with his dilatory Proceedings, first reproach'd his Conduct, and then recall'd him. *Essex* was much discontented, because the Queen in her Letters had chid him for making the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horse ; and that *Cecil* his Enemy was preferr'd to be Master of the Wards in his absence. So that a Month after he unexpectedly return'd to *England*, having some thoughts to bring so great a Force with him as to secure himself from any danger, but was dissuaded therefrom by the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Christopher Blunt*. So that only accompanied with six, he comes to the Court of *Nonsuch*, to inform the Queen of the Affairs of *Ireland*. In the way he met the Lord *Grey of Wilton*, his chief Adversary, whom one of his Attendants offered to kill, to prevent him from doing further mischief, but the Earl declaring his Abhorrence of such Wickedness, hastned to Court, and fell upon his Knees before the Queen, who had not the least Notice of his arrival ; she entertained him with a short Speech but not with her wonted Kindness, commanding him to go to her Chamber till he heard him farther, and afterward committed him to the Custody of the Lord Keeper. The Earl endeavoured to vindicate himself from all the Aspersions

persions charged upon him, and among other expreſſions, 'Can I (ſays he) be ſuſpected to have any ill deſign upon mine Enemies, who only came with ſix to Court, but I abhor revenge, knowing who hath ſaid, Vengeance is mine and I will repay it? Shall my return be ſuſpected, who have worn out my body, wasted my Fortunes and lain a ſuppliant at my Princeſ Feet? Shall I be ſuſpected who have lost my Father and my Brother in the Service of my Country? who for 13 years have ſerved the Queen, and for 7 have been of her Privy Council? Who for her fake have been hated by all that are Enemies to her or her Religion? Who out of Duty to her have ſo exposed my ſelf to their malice, that no Country but this, nor no Person but her ſelf, can ſecure me from falling by their bloody Machinations?

However his Enemies proceeded to Arraign his ill management of affairs in *Ireland*, in which *Cecil* enlarged himſelf with much elocution. The Earl in custody of the L. Keeper ſeemed wholly devoted to pious meditations, and to have renounced all Worldly Concernments with a religious contempt, in ſeveral Letters to his Friends: And ſent ſuch ſubmissive Letters to the Queen, that after ſix months Confinement ſhe admitted him to continue at his own House under the inspection of *R. Berkley*, protesting ſhe did not design his ruin but amendment. But the People who entirely loved him thinking he had received much wrong, the Queen thought it necessary he ſhould have his Cause heard before four Earls, two Lords, and four Judges; who having charged him with ſeveral misdemeanors, and hearing his defence, they ſentenced him to be degraded from being a Privy Councillor, ſuspended from his Offices of Earl Marshal and Master of the Ordinance, and to remain in Custody during the Queens pleasure. But ſtill the People had hopes of his Liberty and Restoraſion, because of the extream favour the Queen had for him, who expreſſly commanded the Commissioners not to deprive him of being Master of

the Horse, as if she intended again to use his Service. The Earl still express'd great humility of mind, declaring both by Words and Letters, That he had taken leave of the World, had wash'd away with his tears the heat of Ambition formerly in his Heart, and that he desired nothing more but that her Majesty would let her Servant depart in Peace. The Queen was so delighted to hear of these Expressions, that she instantly discharged him from all confinement sending him word, That he was now his own man, and admonishing him to make his own discretion his Keeper, but not to come near her Person or Court. The Earl returned answer, 'That he humbly kist the hand and rod of the Queen which had only correct-
 ed but not overthrown him, But that he was sure he shd never live a happy day till he saw those blessed Eyes of hers, which had hitherto been his Stars whereby he had sail'd on happily, and had kept on in a direct course. That now he resolved to repeat in earnest and to say with Nebuchadnezzar, My habitation shall be amongst the Beasts of the Field, that I may eat Hay like an Oxe, and be watered with the Dew of Heaven, till such time as it shall please the Queen to restore me to my senses again.'

The Queen was extream glad when she was told of it, and said, 'I wish his deeds and words would agree, he hath long tried my Patience, and I have pretty well tried his humility. Sure I am, my Father would never have born with his perverseness, but I will not look back, least like Lot's Wife I be turn'd into a Pillar of Salt: All is not Gold that Glisters. And so it happened, for the Earl had so far regained her favour as to presume to beg the gainful Farm of the sweet Wines, but the Queen told him she would first know what it was worth, and that such kindnesses are not to be bestowed blindfold. That they who intend to tame a Wild Horse must keep him without food, That the more a diseased body is fed the more

hurt

hurt it does. The Earl being extreamly discontented at her answer and that she had bestowed the Farm upon others, began to hearken to the insinuations of of one *Henry Cuffe*, Sir *C. blount*, and *Merrick* his Steward, who charged him with Pusillanimity for making such mean submissions, telling him that the Queen, the Council, and his cruel Enemies had conspired to make him a Beggar, so that he must hereafter live on the Almsbasket, and the crums that fell from their Tables. That being poor, neglected of the Queen, and forsaken of his Friends, he might become a scorn to his triumphant adversaries, and advised him that the only remedy against all these disasters was to make his own way to the Queen, he having many of the Nobility, Gentry and Common People that would stand by him and his Cause. These suggestions pierced his Soul daily, so that at length he gave himself up wholly to their direction, and entertained great numbers of Souldiers and other discontented and indigent People, keeping open House to which there was much resort; Of which the Queen having notice, sent the L. Keeper and others to know the meaning of it, who coming thither found the the Earl of *Essex*, *Rutland* and *Southampton* among a confused number of People in the Yard. The L. Keeper told the Earl, That the Queen desired to know the design of this concourse, promising that if any injury had been done him he should be righted both in Law and Equity. The Earl answered aloud, That wait had been laid for his Life, and that some had been hired to Murther him in his bed, That the had been Traiterously dealt with, and that his Letters had been Counterfeited both with his Hand and Seal. That they were therefore met together to defend themselves, and to preserve their Lives, since neither his Patience, nor his Miseries would appease the Malice of his Adversaries, unless they drank his blood also.

The L. Keeper then desired him to give an account of his particular Grievances, but the multitude cried out, *Let us be gone, come they abuse your Patience, they betray you my Lord, kill them, kill them away with the great Seal; Come away, make haste.* The Lord Keeper and the other Lords of the Council going into the House with Essex, the People cried, *Shut 'em up close, keep 'em fast;* whereupon the Earl bolted them into the Room, saying, *Be patient but a little, my Lords, I must needs go to the City to take order with my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, and I will return instantly.* The Lords being thus made Prisoners, the Earl issued forth with about 200 Followers without Order, among whom were the Earl of Bedford, the Lord Cromwell, and some other of the Nobility, and coming into London, Essex cries out continually for the Queen, for the Queen, there is wait laid for my Life, exhorting the Citizens to take Arms and join with him; but notwithstanding their pretended kindness, not a Man appeared for him. And soon after he was proclaimed Traitor, and the Earl of Nottingham marched with all speed against him, which so disengaged him, that casting away all hopes of Success, he thought of returning home and making his Peace with the Lords which he had in Custody, but found his way chained up at the West End of St. Pauls; whereupon he drew his Sword to have forced his Passage, but had three of his Associates slain, besides two Citizens, and his own Hat shot through. So that making haste to Queen-Hithe he there got a Boat, wherein he returned to his own House, where he was soon besieged both by Water and Land, and was advis'd by the Lord Sands to issue out upon his Enemies, telling him the most valiant Counsels were the most safe, and that it was far more honourable to die fighting with Noblemen, than by the hand of an Hangman. But Essex his Mind being as inconstant as his Fortune, he at length yields to the Admiral; and soon after he is brought to a Trial for High Treason with

with the Earl of Southampton, where they made the best defence they could, but at length were both condemned ; the Lord Chief Justice Cook concluding his Sentence with this bitter Sarcasm against Essex, That it were to be wish'd that this *Robert* should be last of the Name of Earl of *Essex*, who affected to be *Robert* the First of that Name, King of *England*.

Feb. 25. 1601. was the day appointed for his death, on a Scaffold upon the Green within the Tower, where sat several Lords and Aldermen of London. The Earl mounting the Scaffold uncovered his Head, and lifting his Eyes to Heaven, confess'd the many and grievous Sins of his Youth, and especially the last, which he said was a bloody, crying, and contagious Sin, for which he asked God and the Queen Forgiveness, protesting he never had any ill design against her Person, wishing her long Life and a happy Reig. He thanked God that he was neither Atheist nor Papist, but put all his Trust and Hopes in the Merits of Christ ; beseeching God to strengthen him against the fears of Death. Then he forgave the Executioner, and fitted his Neck to the Block, intreating the Spectators to join in a short, but fervent Prayer and Ejaculation to God. He then repeated the Creed, and the five first Verses of the 51 Psalm, adding, Lord I submit humbly and obediently to my deserved Punishment. Thou O Lord have Mercy upoa thy Servant that is cast down. Into thy Hands O Lord I commit my Spirit. So laying down his Head, it was stricken off at the third Blow, but the first took away all Sense and Motion. Sir Walter Rawleigh his great Enemy was present, which many thought very unbecoming him, King Henry IV. of France, and Marshal Byron, his Prime Favourite, hearing the Christian manner of his Death scoff at him, saying, He died more like a Parson than a Soldier. But this very Byron was soon after beheaded by this very King for Treason, raving at his Death against his Master, and dying more like a Madman than a Christian. And King Henry having renounced

renounced the Protestant Religion, was stabb'd to death in his Coach by a bloody Villain, without having hardly time to say, *Lord have Mercy upon him.*

Thus was this Noble Earl snatch'd out of the Arms of his Mistress, and torn from the Heart of the People that doted on him, and by the subtilty of his Enemies, brought to an untimely end in the sight of them both, who were quiet Spectators of his Ruin in the 34 year of his Age. The Tears of her Subjects for his loss, and the little kindness they discovered afterward for her for signing the Warrant for his Death, together with her own Passion for him, cast the Queen into a deep Melancholy, which was much augmented by the following Passage. When *Essex* was in greatest favour with her, which was on his return from *Caes*, he importuned her to give him some token of her Affection that might renew her favour to him if at any time his Enemies should misrepresent him. Whereupon in much familiarity she gave him a Ring, which she vowed and swore should free him from all danger upon his sending it to her, even in the greatest distress. After his Commitment to the Tower, he sent this worthy Token to her Majesty by the Countess of *Nottingham*, but Sir *Robert Cecil* would not suffer her to deliver it. This made the Q. think her self scorned, and that what his Enemies had reported he should say, was true, *That she grow old and doted, and that her mind was now as crooked as her Body*, which she thought to be Blasphemy against such a Divine Beauty as her Flatterers persuaded her she was. But the Lady *Nottingham* coming to her on her death-bed, and finding (by the daily Sorrow the Queen express for the loss of *Essex*) that she was the principal Agent in his destruction, could not be at rest till she had sent for her and discovered all, imploring Mercy from God, and Forgiveness from her Earthly Sovereign. The Relation of which so enraged the Q. that shaking her as she lay in her Bed, she said she would never forgive her, and sent her with most fearful

fearful Curses to the Judgment Seat of God. Not long after the Queen's Sicknesse appeared mortal. For having thus unfortunately cut off her endeared Favourite she took Comfort in nothing besides. But upon all occasions of signing Pardons would say to her Courtiers, *You can beg Pardons for these Wretches, but could never speak a word for the gallant Essex, whose loss to my self and the Nation can never be recovered.* Some thought Essex would have discovered some secret Commerce between the Queen and himself at his Death, but others were of opinion, that nothing Criminal ever passed between them, only a generous Kindness that she had for a Man, Noble, Lovely, and every way accomplish'd. To conclude her Happiness and Power both seemed to be buried in the Tomb of Essex, whose Absence with continued Sighs and Tears she bemoaned for some few Months, and then was likewise laid in her Grave. The E. of Southampton was pardoned, but Sir Christ. Blount, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Gill Merick, and Henry Cuffe were condemned and executed for this Iaiurrection. And the Lord Grey, Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Rawleigh, professed Enemies to Essex, and no mean Instruments in his destruction, fell into a Prison of a like depth with his in the Reign of King James I. Gray and Cobham dying miserably in Prison, and Rawleigh being beheaded at Tower-hill.

Remarks



*Remarks on the Life, Actions, and Fatal Fall of
George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, Favourite
to King James I. and King Charles I.*

THIS Favourite arose upon the Fall of the E. of Somerset, upon whom K. James had heaped many Honours, advancing him from a Knight to Viscount Rochester, Privy Counsellor, E. of Somerset, and L. Chamberlain. But his Glory was soon overclouded; for having married the Countess of Essex, who had been divorced from her Husband the Son of the preceding Favourite, that unfortunate Knight Sir Tho. Overbury, for speaking against the Match, was by their Procurement poysoned in the Tower, for which the Earl and Countess were both condemned, but pardoned, and banish'd the Court.

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R. James, who could not live without a Bosom Favourite, cast his Eye upon George Villars, a Young Gentleman of a fine Shape, second Son to Sir George Villars of Brooksby in *Leicestershire*, with whom the King was so taken, finding him a Man of a quick understanding, and fit to make a Courtier, that he advanced him by degrees in Honour next to himself, making him first a Knight, then Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, Viscount, Master of the Horse, Lord Admiral, Earl, Marquis, and lastly D. of *Buckingham*. And now lying in the King's Bosom, every Man paid Tribute to his Smiles, and he managed all Affairs, putting Men in or out of Office according to his Pleasure. Yet his Mother, who was a Papist, having a great hand in all business, and a great Power over her Son, directed him in all Matters of Profit and Concernment, and was addressed to first, in order to procure any Favour from him, which caused *Gondemar* the Spanish Ambassador to write merrily to his Master, That there was never more hope of *England's* Conversion to *Rome* than now; for there were more Prayers and Oblations offered here to the Mother than to the Son. He married the Earl of *Rutland's* Daughter, the greatest Match in the Kingdom, who pretended to be a zealous Protestant; but his Mother and the Jesuits reduced her to the Popish Religion, so that between a Mother and a Wife *Buckingham* himself grew very indifferent, being neither Papist nor Protestant.

K. James affected the name of a Peace-maker, and desirous the general quiet of *Europe* and the reconciling all Parties, he professed, that if the Papists would renounce their King killing Doctrine, and some other gross Errors, he was willing to meet them half way. And being zealous also to maintain the height of Regal Majesty, after the death of Prince *Henry* he resolved to match his Son Prince *Charles* with some Princess of most high Descent though of a different Religion. And there having been a Treaty of

Marriage

Marriage between P. Henry and a Daughter of Spain, wherein the *Spaniards* deluded him with their accustomed Gravity and Formality; he now sets his thoughts upon a Match with *France*, which the Spanish King doubting would be to his disadvantage, he made new Overtures for a Marriage with his Daughter to Sir John Digby the King's Ambassador there, though with as little sincerity as before. And at length Articles were agreed on and sign'd by King James, whereby the Children of this Marriage were not to be constrained to be Protestants, nor to lose their Right of Succession if they were Catholicks. The Pope's Dispensation was to be procured, the new Queen was to have Popish Chaplains, Priests, Confessors and all other Privileges. The King was mightily pleased with this Alliance, but the People as much displeased, who had not forgot the intended Cruelty of 1588. and dreaded the Consequence of this Popish Contract. But the King not thinking that the business went on with that speed he desired, sends the Prince and *Buckingham* to *Spain* to consummate the Marriage, where he is received with all manner of Magnificence by that King, and universal Joy of that People, in hope the Prince would turn Catholick, they generally discoursing, that he came thither on purpose to become a Christian. Neither were any Endeavours wanting to seduce him, Pope *Gregory* writing a smooth Letter to him: Yea condescended to write another to *Buckingham*, his Guide and Familiar, to incline him to the Romish Religion. The Prince returned an Answer to the Pope's Letter, and among other Expressions says,

Your Holiness conjecture of our desire to contract an Alliance and Marriage with a Catholick Family and Princess, is agreeable both to your Wisdom and Charity, for we would never desire so vehemently to be joined in a strict and indissoluble Bond with any Mortal whatsoever whose Religion we hated. For it is very certain, I shall never be so extreamly affectionate

nate to any thing in the World, as to endeavour Alliance with a Prince that hath the same apprehension of the True Religion with my self. Therefore I intreat your Holiness to believe, that I have been always far from encouraging Novelties, or to be a Partizan of any Faction against the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion. But on the contrary I have sought all occasions to take away the suspicion that might rest upon me. And I will employ my self for the time to come to have but One Religion, and one faith, seeing that we all believe in one Jesus Christ. Having resolved in in my self to spare nothing that I have in this World, and to suffer all manner of discommodities, even to the hazard of my Estate and Life, for a thing so pleasing to God. I pray God to give your Holiness a blessed Health here, and his Glory after so much Travel which your Holiness takes within his Church.

After a while the Match was concluded in England, and the Articles sworn to by K. James, and some private ones much in-favour of the Papists. And the King was so transported with the assurance of it, that he was heard to say, ' Now all the Devills in Hell canoat hinder it. But a stander by said to one of his Attendants, ' That there was never a Devil now left in Hell, for they were all gone into Spain to make up the Match. And indeed the Spirit of the Nation was so averse to this Union, that they boldly vented their Sentiments both with their Tongues and Pens: And amosg others. Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury writ a very warm Letter to the K. against a Toleration of Popery, which was one of the Articles agreed to. The Treaty was likewise Signed and Sealed by the K. of Spain and the Prince, Who also obliged, himself, That as often as the Infanta pleased, he would hearken to such Catholick Divines, as she should appoint to debate matters of Religion with him, but would never dissuade her from her own Religion, and would take care to abrogate all the Laws made against Catholicks in three years. But

But after all, this Match proved abortive, and the Prince and Duke returned home again, the K. declaring, that unless the Emperor would restore the Palatinate taken from his Son in Law the Prince Palatine, he would proceed no farther. Which the K. of Spain declining to be concerned in, the Treaty was totally dissolved, to the great joy of all good Protestants.

The Duke gave the Parliament an account of the whole Transaction, wherein he severely reflected upon the delusory practices of the Spanish Court, which so incensed the Spanish Ambassador, that he sent to the King to inform him, that the Duke had some desperate design against his Life, and that the least he could do against him, would be to confine him to some of his Country Houses during Life, the Prince being now fully ripe for Government. This raised some jealousy in the old King, so that the next time he saw Buckingham, he cried, 'Ah Stenny, Stenny (which was the Familiar name he always called him) 'wilt thou kill me?' At which the Duke was at first amazed, but finding afterward that a Spanish Jesuit was the Informer, he told the King, It was only their malice against him for breaking the match, protesting his Innocency. The K. was satisfied the Ambassador was his Enemy, and that such an attempt could never be performed without the consent of the Prince, whom the Ambassador reflected upon, though he did not directly accuse him, and He thought it so horrid and unnatural a design, that he passed it by without any further notice: But only in sending to the K. of Spain to desire justice of him against his Ambassadors false Accusation, which he said wounded his Son's honour through Buckingham's sides. Soon after the Ambassador was recalled, and for Forms-sake had a little check given him, but was in as much favour as ever.

Thus was this Information wived, and the Duke so far reestablished in favour, that he doubted not but

but to crush all that opposed him, and charged Cranfield Earl of Middlesex in Parliament, with several mismanagements of the Revenue, the Prince who was Buckingham's right hand joining with him in it. The King being at New-Market, to free himself from the noise of baseness, hearing of it, writ to the Prince, That he should not take part with any Faction in Parliament against the Earl of Middlesex, but be so indifferent that both parties might seek to him, for if he bandied to remove old Servants, the time would come that others would do as much by him. This wise advice declared Buckingham to be a little declining in the King's favour, or the King in his. For if the King knew Buckingham to be the chief Prosecutor, it lookt ill for the King to plead for him, and if not, there was not that intimacy between them as formerly. However Cranfield's Actions were proved to be so dishonourable that he was fined severally, and made uncapable of ever sitting in the House of Peers for the future.

Soon after the King died at Theobald's of a Tertian Ague as was then said, and King Charles who in his Fathers Life time was linkt to the Duke, now continued to receive him into an admired intimacy and dearness, making him Partaker of all his Counsels and Cares, and chief Conductor of his Affairs, an example rare in this Nation to be the Favourite of two succeeding Princes: But was not so fortunate as to Parliaments, for though the last in King James's time had approved of his Conduct in breaking the Spanish Match, yet the first Parliament of this King drawing up a Remonstrance of their Grievances, inveighed against him in their Speeches as the chief occasion of all miscarriages in Government. As the loss of the Royalty of the Narrow Seas, by his mismanagement of the Office of Lord High Admiral, His ierching himself and kindred to the impoverishing of the King and Crown. His ill bestowing of Offices of Trust and Profit. The increase of Popery occasioned

by the Dukes Mother and Father in Law, both Papists. The scandalous Sale of all Honours, Offices and Im-
ployments Ecclesiastical, Military and Civil, And
his staying at home (though Admiral) when he shoud
have commanded the Fleet, which miscarried by his
being absent. In the same Parliament likewise, the
Earl of Bristol accused the Duke of High Treason,
and the Duke charged him with the same. One of
the Articles against *Buckingham* was, That the Pope
being informed of his inclination to the Catholick
Religion, sent the Duke a Bull in Parchment, to per-
suade and encourage him to pervert the Prince of
Wales. After this the Parliament proceeded to
Impeach the Duke upon 13 Articles of High Treason
and other high Crimes and Misdemeanors, one of
which was, his giving Potions and applying Plaisters
to the late King *James* in his sickness, without the
advice and contrary to the directions of his sworn
Physician, from whence proceeded drowths, raving,
fainting, and an intermitting Pulse, which the King
was so sensible of that being told by his Physicians
that his Distemper increased by cold, he replied,
"No, no, it proceeded from that which I have from
"Buckingham. The King was so angry at these pro-
ceedings having cautioned them from meddling with
the Duke, that he committed Sir *Dudly Diggs*, who
made the Prologue, and Sir *John Eliot* the Epilogue
of his impeachment, both Prisoners to the Tower.
After which the Duke gave in an answer to all the
Articles charged against him, as well of misemploying
the Ships of *Roche*, as about the Death of K. *James*,
wherein he acknowledges, he did give the Potion to
the King, but it was by his own Order, in presence
of the King's Physicians, who did not seem to dislike
it, some of them having tasted it. And the Duke
acquainting the King that some had reported that
this Drink had made him worse, and that he had
given it him without advice, the K. answered, *They
are worse than Devils that say it.* However the Par-
lement

ment proceeded with an Address to the K. for removing the D. from his Council and Presence, and the House of Lords sent four Peers to intreat him to give audience to their whole House upon this Subject. But the K. replied, That his resolution was to hear no motion for that purpose, but that he would Dissolve the Parliament, which he did instantly by Commission, which gave occasion to the People to utter their minds freely upon this Transaction.

After this the King declares War against France, and a Fleet being provided, and an Army raised, Buckingham is made both Admiral and General, and lands his Army at the Isle of Rhee, notwithstanding the opposition of the French both Horse and Foot, whom the English defeated. From whence they marched to St. Martin's and blockt up the Citadel. But notwithstanding our Army at Land and 100 Sail of Ships at Sea, yet the French got into the Harbour with relief of Provisions; and afterward carried so great a supply into the Citadel, that the Duke who had lain idle for many Weeks, being at length prevailed with to Storm it, was forced to retire, and in his retreat had a great number of his Souldiers kill'd and drowned, returning home with great dishonour. Upon the return of the Fleet, the Cry of the Nation was so great, both for the Disgrace and the Seamen's want of Pay, that the King was obliged to call a Parliament, which being met, the Duke is declared the Grievance of Grievances, and the Cause of all the miseries of the Kingdom. But the King Proroguing the Parliament before they could proceed against him; in the mean time Dr. Lamb the Duke's Creature is murthered in the City out of hatred to his Master. And the Town of Rochel (which had declared for the English when they were there) being now closely besieged by the French, the King had prepared a Fleet under the command of the Duke to relieve it, who being advanced as far as Portsmouth to go aboard, was slain by one

Lieutenant Felton in his own Lodgings, by one blow with a Knife under the left Rib and up to the Heart, leaving the Knife in his Body, and got away undiscovered. In his fall to the Ground, the Duke was heard to say, The Villain has killed me. Company coming in and finding him weltring in his Blood, began to inquire for the Murtherer, when Felton immediately stepped out and said, I am the man that have done the deed, let no man suffer that is innocent. When he gave the fatal blow, Felton cry'd, The Lord have mercy upon thy Soul. Which the Duke had not time to pronounce himself. Felton had a Paper sticking to the Lining of his Hat wherein he had written as followeth: I would have no man commend me for doing it, but rather discommend themselves, for if God had not taken away their Hearts for their Sins he had not gone so long unpunisht. The man is cowardly base in my opinion, and deserves not the name of a Gentleman or Soldier, that is unwilling to Sacrifice his Life for the Honour of God, his King and Country. Subscrib'd John Felton. He confess'd to the Council, that the motives to it were his want of pay, his being disappointed of a Captains place which the Duke promised him, together with the late Remonstrance of the House of Commons against him. A. B. Laud askt him, whether the Puritans did not incite him to it, which he denied, or any body else. Well then said Laud, we must make you confess your Accomplices on the Rack, If you should, said Felton, it may be the torment would make the accuse you as soon as another. So he was tried for murther, and suffered very penitently at Tyburn, and his body was hung in Chains at Portsmouth in 1628.

An Ingenious Writer is much offended with Sir Henry Wotton, for making a Parallel between the E. of Essex aforesaid and the D. of Buckingham, (to be found in his Remains) which he says is much to the disadvantage of Essex, who besides his last Action

never

Never did any thing so ingrateful as might make him fear the Anger, or beg the Favour of a Parliament, much less owe his Life to the Dissolution of one. He died like a Christian: He was no Instrument of Tyranny and Oppression, his Memory being still valuable among the People; whereas the Duke's retains a contrary Tincture; nor can his Bounty to his Friends and Servants expunge his Faults, because the Money was drained either from the People, the Publick Treasury, or from the general safety of the Nation; Whereas Essex obliged his Confidants out of his own Store, or by such innocent ways as the Subject had no cause to repine at: His natural Parts were as great, and his Learning and Birth greater than the Duke's. Nor can his last inconsiderate Action, that rather deserves the Title of a Riot than Treason, come up to so great an ingratitude and indignity to the Nation as Buckingham's Proceedings at Rochel, wherein the Duke shewed no less Folly in procuring so great a hatred among the People, than Essex did in misapplying their Love. And if his Picture be exact, Essex was as handsome as he, which was the chief Cause of Villars Advancement. Only in this Essex came short, in having a Mistress that would attend to reason, whether it came from Friendship or Malice; whereas the Duke's Fortune depended on two Princes, that in reference to their own weakness or his Strength, remained deaf to all Complaints but what were made by him or his Creatures, under pain of his high Displeasure, which was usually much heavier than the King's. Concerning their Deaths, (saith my Author) I can attest, the Duke's did occasion no less Joy, than the other did Sorrow, though the death of Queen Elizabeth her self be put into the Scale. Nor was the Hangman willing to be hired to cut off Essex, whereas Felton seemed to be inspired with some Demon, if not the Genius of our Nation.



Remarks on the Life, Actions, and Fatal Fall of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Favourite to King Charles I.

THIS great Favourite was born in Chancery Lane London, his Mother coming casually to the City, but descended from an ancient Family at Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire. He was educated in St. John's College in Oxford, whereby he was so accomplish'd, that his Endowments soon advanced him to be a Member of the House of Commons, wherein he appeared very zealous for the Liberties of his Country, and that often with so much strength of reason, that his Sentiments prevailed for or against the Cause he managed. Of which I shall give a few Instances.

In the Parliament 3. Charles I. Upon a Debate of the Grievances of the Kingdom, by quartering Soldi-

ers, Loans, Benevolence, Privy Seals, and imprisoning Gentlemen that refused to lend Money on that account, and were refused to be Bailed upon their *Habeas Corpus*. he spake thus. *Surely these illegal Ways are Punishments and Marks of Indignation.* The raising of Loans, strengthned by Commissions, with unheard of Instructions and Oaths, and the Billeting of Soldiers by Deputy Lieutenants have been such, as if they could have persuaded Christian Princes, that the Right of Empires had been to take away Men's Properties by strong Hands. These Projectors have introduced a Privy Council, who have ravish'd at once the the Spheres of all antient Government, imprisoning us without either Bail or Bond. They have taken from us, *What shall I say indeed? What have they left us.* The Remedy I shall propound is, To vindicate our ancient vital Liberties, by reinforcing the Laws made by our Ancestors, by giving such a Character of them as no Licentious Spirit shall dare enter upon them hereafter. Let us secure our selves, and our Freedom from Imprisonment. Let us secure our Goods that no Levies be made but by Parliament, no Billeting of Soldiers. If we are not secured in these, we cannot give Supplies. — I cannot forget that Duty I owe to my Country, and unless our Liberties be secured, I incline to look upon the State of our Country whether it be fit to give or no. Are we come to an end of our Countries Liberties? Are we secured for time future? — We are accountable to a Publick Trust, and since there hath been a Publick Visitation of the Laws by the King's Ministers, nothing will satisfie but a Publick Amends, and our desire to vindicate the Subject's Right is no more than what is laid down in former Laws. — Let us be fare that the Subject's Liberties go hand in hand with the Supply, and not to pass the one, till we have good Ground and a Bill for the other. Upon the Petition of Right which the House of Lords would have had this addition to, *We present this our humble Petition to your Majesty, with the care not only of preserving our own Liberties, but with due regard to leave intire that Sovereign Power wherewith your Majesty is*

trusted for the Protection, Safety, and Happiness of the People, Sir Tho. Wentworth spake thus, If we admit of this Addition, we shall leave the Subjects worse than we found them, and we shall have little thanks for our Labour when we come home. Let us leave all Power to his Majesty to punish Malefactors, but these Laws are not acquainted with Sovereign Power. We desire no new thing, nor do we offer to intrench on his Majesties Prerogative, but we may not recede from this Petition either in part or in whole.

The King hearing of his Ability and Understanding, used all means to gain him to himself, by bestowing Titles of Honour and Places of Trust upon him, Creating him Viscount Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whereby he made him wholly his own. In Ireland he was very active in augmenting the King's Revenues, and advancing the Royal Authority by all ways within his Power; and upon his return into England, he advised the King to go into Scotland, and settle the Peace of that Kingdom by his Coronation there, he having Intelligence that if it were deferr'd any longer, the Scots might perhaps incline to elect another King. Upon the troubles that rose soon after there, on the account of imposing the Common-Prayer upon them, and the King resolving to raise an Army to reduce them, but doubting the Parliament would not supply him, the Lords told the King that they would ingage their own Credits to forward the Business, and the E. of Strafford for their Encouragement subscribed 20000 £. other Noblemen following his Example conformable to their Estates, and some of the Judges contributed largely.

April 13. 1639. a Parliament being assembled, the Earl of Strafford was led into the House of Peers by two Noblemen, to give an account of his Proceedings in Ireland, having there obtained the Grant of four Subsidies, for maintaining 10000 Foot and 1500 Horse; Implicitly hinting thereby that they should proportion their Supplies accordingly. But the Parliament

liament doubting that the Irish Forces might endanger Religion, and seeming to allow the Justness of the Scots Cause, and of the good that might be obtained by favouring them in this Conjunction, the King doubting they might vote against the War with the Scots, whom he resolved to treat severely for not complying with his Will and Pleasure; he thereupon suddenly dissolves them, to the great discontent of the People, who, for eleven years past, durst scarce mention the name of a Parliament.

Being hereby disappointed of a Supply, the King sends to the Citizens of London to lend Money, and to all Knights and Gentlemen who held Lands of the Crown, to provide Men, Horses and Arms for his Assistance. The Citizens generally refused, pleading Poverty and want of Trade, but by the Assistance of the Gentry, an Army was raised with great Celerity, of which the Earl of Strafford was made Lieutenant General, and the King commanded in Chief. The Scots having notice of these Preparations speedily raised an Army, with which they marched into England to make this the Seat of War. The Lord Conway doubting they would take in Newcastle, drew off 3000 Foot and about 1200 Horse to secure the Pass at Newburn. Lest the Scots General marching forward, sent a Trumpeter to the Lord Conway, to desire leave to pass to the King with their Petition, which being denied, they fell upon the English and kill'd 300 of them; Which being accounted an unhappy Omen, several of the Lords petitioned the King for a Parliament, which was seconded by another from the Scots, and a third from the City of London. At length the King agreed to it, having first, by advice of the Peers, consented to a Treaty with the Scots at Rippon, they refusing to send their Commissioners to York, alledging, That the Lieutenant of Ireland resided there, who proclaimed them Rebels in Ireland before the King had done it in England, and against whom as a chief Incendiary they intended to complain in the next Parliament.

For the Parliament meeting Nov. 3. 1640. the Scotch Commissioners coming to London, had many private Conferences with some of the House of Commons; and it was concluded that the Earl of Strafford should be immediately impeached at his first coming into the House of Lords, which was done accordingly, and thereupon he was instantly taken into Custody, and in March following he was brought to his Trial in Westminster Hall; The King, Queen and Prince were present in a private Closet, where they could here all, but were sent of none.

And then Mr. Pym Impeached the Earl of twenty eight Articles of High Treason in the name of the Commons of England, charging him, That he had Trayterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government of England and Ireland, and to introduce an Arbitrary Tyrannical Goverament, by Trayterously assuming to himself Regal Power over the Laws, Liberties, Persons, Lands, and Goods of his Majesties Subjects. Had countenanced and encouraged Papists: Had maliciously endeavoured to stir up enmity and hostility between the Subjects of England and Scotland: Had wilfully betrayed the King's Subjects to death by a dishonourable Retreat at Newburn, that by the effusion of blood, and the dishonour and loss of New Castle, the People of England might be ingaged in a National and Irconcileable quarrel with the Scots; And that to secure himself from being questioned for these and other Trayterous Courses he had laboured to subvert the Rights of Parliament, and to incense his Majesty against them by false and malicious slanders, and that upon the Dissolution of the last Parliament, he did treacherously and wickedly counsel and advise His Majesty to this effect, That having tryed the affections of his People, he was loose and absolved from all rules of Government, and was to do every thing that power would admit, since having tried all ways he was refused; so that he would now be acquitted

acquitted both by God and Man. And that he had an Army in *Ireland* (meaning the Army of Papists who were his Dependants) which the King might employ to reduce this Kingdom to his obedience. That he falsely, maliciously and treacherously declared before some of the Privy Council, That the Parliament of *England* had forsaken the King, and that in denying to supply him, they had given him the advantage to supply himself by such ways as he should think fit, and that he was not to suffer himself to be mastered by the frowardness of the People. That he was very rigorous in levying the illegal Imposition of Shipmoney, and Imprisoned divers Persons for not Levying the same. And a great Loan of an hundred thousand pound being demanded of the City, and some refusing to lend, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were required to return their names, which they with humility refusing to do, the Earl said, That they deserved to be put to fine and ransom, and to be made examples, and laid by the heels, and that it would never be well till some of the Aldermen were hanged np. That by wicked Counsel he had brought on the King excessive charges, and then advised him to approve of two dangerous Projects. To seize the Money in the Mint, and to Imbase his own Coin with a mixture of Brass. That he had declared that *Ireland* was a conquered Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleased, and speaking of the Charters of former Kings of *England*, he said, They were nothing worth and that he would neither have Law nor Lawyers question or dispute any of his Orders, and that he would make all *Ireland* know that so long as he had the Government there, any Act of State there made shold be as binding to the Subject as an Act of Parliament. That he did not only Tyrannize over the Bodies but over the Consciences of Men, by forming and imposing a new and unusual Oath, which because some Scots refused to take, he fined and banished great numbers.

numbers, and called all that Nation Rebels and Traytors, and said if ever he returned home from *England* he would root them out both stock and branch.

These and a multitude of other Crimes, he was charged to have committed both in *Ireland* and *England*. Many of which he confess to be true, but not with their aggravations. Some he denied, and others he extenuated, and pleaded that though the whole were proved against him, yet it did not amount to Treason. Some of the Lords and Commons were of the same opinion. Others urged, that though he were not guilty of any of the Offences declared to be Treason by the 25 of *Edward III* yet so great were his crimes that (according to that Statute which impowers the Parliament to declare what is Treason) they ought to be declared Treason. At length it was concluded to proceed against him by way of Attainder, which was much opposed likewise, it being alleged, That no Man could be convict of Treason but by the Letter of the Statute, and the Lord Digby, a Member of the House of Commons, and an earnest Prosecutor of the Earl, spake thus of it, Mr. Speaker, I am still of the same opinion and affections to the Earl *Strafford*, I confidently believe him the most dangerous Minister, and the most insupportable to free Subjects that can be found. I believe his practices as high and as Tyrannical as any Subject ever ventured on, and the malignity of them highly aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the use, but the Devil the application. I believe him still, the grand Apostate to the Common Wealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this World, till he be dispatcht to the other. I do not say but his Crimes may represent him a man as worthy to dye, and perhaps worthier than many a Traytor, and may justly direct us to enact that they shall be Treason for the future, but God keep me from giving Judgment of Death on any man, and to ruin his Posterity upon a Law made after

after the Crime is committed. And by any Law yet made, I do not believe he is guilty of Treason.

However the Bill of Attainder passed in the House of Commons, and Mr. St. Johns endeavoured to satisfy the Lords in the reasonableness thereof, to induce them to pass it. For, said he, though the Proofs at the Trial were insufficient, and nothing but Legal Evidence can prevail in Judicature, yet by this way both Lords and Commons might proceed by the light of their own Consciences, although no Evidence were given at all. And after many Aggravations of the Earls Offences in subverting our Laws, as he affirmed, he concluded thus. He that would not have had others have any Law, should have none himself: It is true, we give Law to Hares and Deer, because they be Beasts of Chase, but it was never accounted cruelty or foul play to knock Foxes or Wolves on the Head as they can be found, because these be Beasts of Prey. The Warrener sets Traps for Powl-cats and other Vermine for preservation of the Warren. The Lords after this Speech shewing a greater propensity toward the Earl's condemnation than before the King having an account of it came next day to the House of Peers, and sending for the House of Commons told them.

That Judgment being ready to pass on the Earl of Strafford he thought it necessary to declare his Conscience therein, they being sensible that he had been present at the hearing this great Cause from one end to the other, and yet that in his Conscience he could not condemn him of High Treason; assuring them, That he never intended to bring an Irish Army into England, nor was ever advised by any body so to do, That there was never any debate before him of the disloyalty of his English Subjects, nor had he ever any suspicion of them. That he was never Counsellel by any to alter all, or any of the Laws of England, since if any durst have been so impudent he should have made them examples to Posterity. That

he

he would be rightly understood, for though in his Conscience he could not condemn him of High Treason yet he could not clear him of such Misdemeanors, as he did not think him fit to serve him or the Commonwealth hereafter in any Place of Trust, no not so much as a Constable, and therefore he hoped they would find out a way to satisfie Justice and their own fears, and not oppress his Conscience, since neither fear nor any other respect whatsoever, should ever make him act against it.

This Speech relisht so ill with the two Houses, that few of them attended next day being Sunday May 2. on the solemnity of the King's Eldest Daughter *Maries Marriage* to the Prince of Orange. On Monday five or six thousand Apprentices and other tumultuous Citizens came down to Westminster to demand justice against the Earl of Strafford, and Petitions subscribed with thousands of hands were presented to both Houses about redressing Grievances. Soon after the Lords passed the Bill of Attainder, but the King seemed very averse to Pass it, and consulted both with Lawyers and Divines of the Lawfulness thereof. The Bishop of Lincoln urged, that the opinion of the Judges and the Judgment of the Parliament thereupon ought much to sway with him, considering the terrible consequences of an enraged multitude, and that no other expedient could be found out to appease the People. But the main satisfaction of the King's Conscience it is said proceeded from a Letter sent to him by the Earl, to this purpose. *Sir, to set your Majesties Conscience at Liberty, I do most humbly beseech you, for preventing of such mischiefs as may happen by your refusal, to pass the Bill, by this means to remove, (I cannot say this accursed, but I confess) this unfortunate thing out of the way, toward that blessed agreement which I trust God shall forever establish betwixt you and your Subjects. Sir, my consent herein shall more acquit you to God than all the World can do besides, &c.*

The next day the King signed a Commission to several

veral Lords to pass the Bill, which was done accordingly. But being unwilling to part with his indear-ed Favourite, he sent a Letter by the Prince of Wales to the House of Lords, that Mercy might be extended to him as to Life, but that he might fulfil the na-tural course of his Days in close Imprisooument. But the Lords sent 12 of their number to the King to sa-tisfie him that it could not be done with Safety, nei-ther to himself nor his Queen. If it cannot, says he, then *Fiat Justitia, Let Justice be done.*

May 12. 1641. The Earl was conveyed from the Tower to the Scaffold erected on the Hill wiith a suf-ficient Guard, and Archbishop *Usher* to assist him, where it is said he designed to have made a Speech already prepared, to this Effect, ' People of my Na-tive Country, I wish my own or your Charity had made me fit to call you Friends. It should appear by your Concourse and gazing Aspects, that I am now the only prodigious Meteor, toward which you direct your wondring Eyes. I would to God my Blood would cure your sad Hearts of all your Grie-vances. Though every drop thereof were a Soul on which a Life depended, I could tender it with as much alacrity as some, nay most of you are come to triumph in my final Expiration. In regard I have been by you my Native Coutry (whose Wis-dom and Justice in respect of the generality of it, is no way questionable) voted to this untimely end, I have not one Syllable to say in Justification of my self, or those Actions for which I suffer. Only in excuse of both, give me leave to say my too much Zeal to do my Master Service made me abuse his Royal Authority, and howsoever I have been most unfortunate, yet at all times a Favourite in the Prosecution of my Places and Offices, as I shall answer at the dreadful Tribunal whereunto your Just Anger hath, before Nature, doomed me, my Intents were fairer than my Actions, but God knows the over-greatness of my Spirits Severity in my

my Government, the Witchcraft of Authority, and Flattery of many to sharpen it, are but ill Interpreters of my Intentions, which I have no Argument to induce you to believe, but that it proceeds from a dying man. It would too much hinder your long- ing Expectation of my shameful death to give an account of my Arraignment and Attainder, for I have been, and whilst I breath am, the Pestilence which rages through your Minds, your Estates and Trades, and you will read the Bills of your Losses, though the Disease that brought the Destruction be removed, &c.

He then declared, That he forgave all the World, and acquitted them of his Death; and beseeched the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them. That he was never against Parliaments as judging them the most happy Constitution, and the best means to make the King and People happy. That it was a great comfort to him, that the King did not think he merited so heavy a Punishment as this. So wishing all Prosperity to the Kingdom, he address'd himself to his Prayers, and then laying down his Head on the Block it was cut off at one Blow. Instead of a Character of him, I shall conclude with his Epitaph, written by Mr. John Cleveland.

*Here lies Wise and Valiant Dust
Huddled up 'twixt Fit and Fust:
Strafford who was hurried hence,
'Twixt Treason and Convenience.
He spent his Life here in a Mist,
A Papist, yet a Calvinist,
His Prince's nearest Joy and Grief
He had, yet wanted all Relief.
The Prop and Ruin of the State,
The People's violent Love and Hate,
One in extremes lou'd and abhor'd,
Riddles, lies here. And in a word,
Here lies Blood, and let it lie
Speechless still, and never cry.*

FINIS.



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